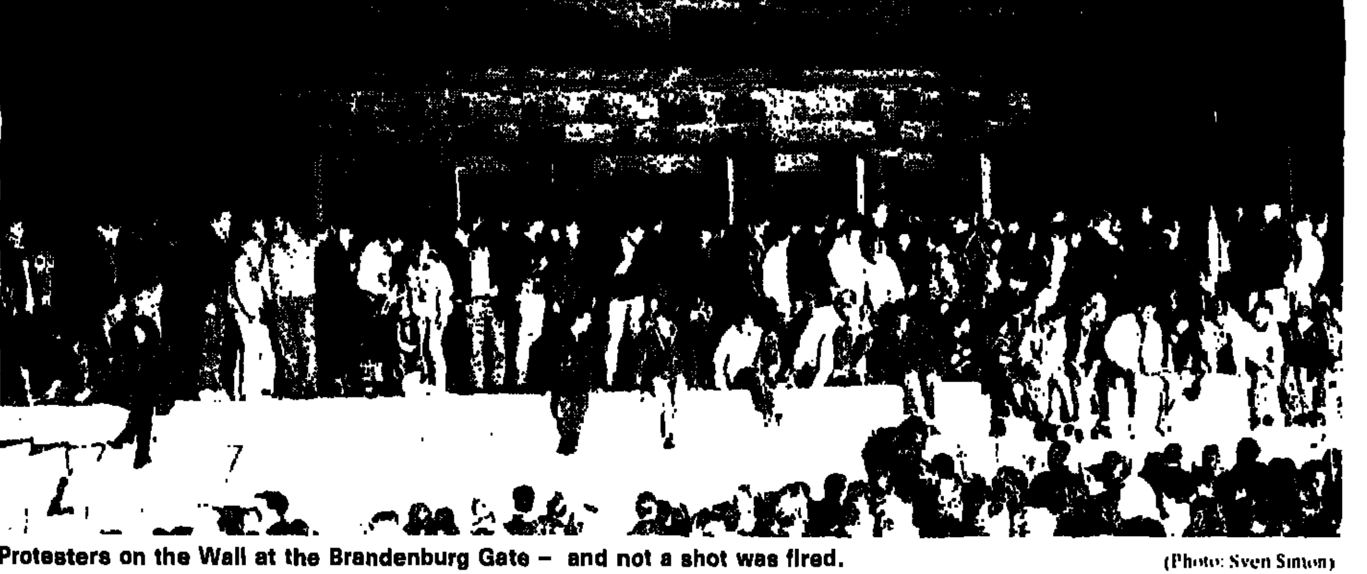
The German Tribune

Hamburg, 19 November 1989
Twenty-eighth year - No. 1396 - By air

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DEPOSE A BRX X



Protesters on the Wall at the Brandenburg Gate – and not a shot was fired. (Photo: Sven Simon)

A divided city no longer: sections of the Berlin Wall are demolished

On 9 November, over 28 years after the Berlin Wall was built in August 1961, the East German authorities threw open the borders between the two German states and the two halves of Berlin. New checkpoints were bulldozed through the Wall. Egon Krenz, leader of the ruling SED, said there were to be radical reforms and free elections. The *"turning-point" he proposed to usher in was to lead to a "revolution on* German soil." There were scenes of tumult in Berlin, where half a million East Berliners and East Germans converged on the Western half of the city.

While the opening of the borders by the GDR leaders was welcomed all over the world, millions of East Germans headed west for their first look at life in the Federal Republic for nearly 30 years.

The East German authorities say 2.7 million exit permits were issued in the first rush, but the exact number of people who visited the West is mere guesswork.

In East Berlin five new border crossing-points *were opened to handle the crush.* Some were opened by demolishing sections of the Berlin Wall.

Tumultuous, emotional scenes of East-West encounter were the hallmark of a long weekend [illegible]

Lines of East German cars, Trabants and Wartburgs with their two-stroke engines and Soviet-made Ladas, tailed back miles as they waited to cross the border.

Thousands of West Berliners welcomed pedestrians with open arms, champagne and flowers, tears of joy. Border authorities in Berlin and the Federal Republic say only a fraction of the millions said they had come to stay. Thousands of Berliners from East and West converged on the *Brandenburg Gate to celebrate the opening* of the border, with up to 1,000 people standing and dancing on the Wall.

*Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl in*terrupted his visit to Poland to make an air dash to West Berlin, where he and *Willy* Brandt spoke to crowds outside Schöneberg *Rathaus,* the Western city hall.

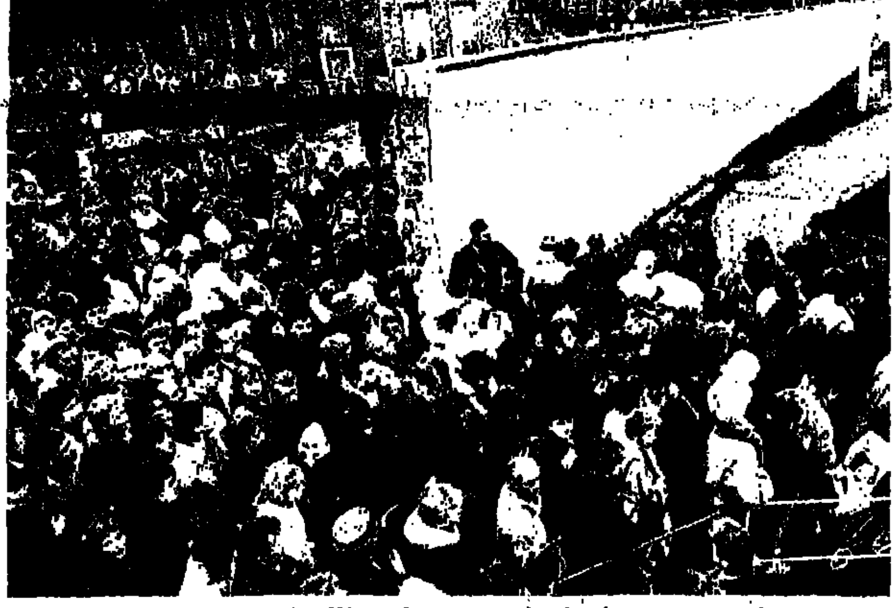
Social Democrat Brandt was deeply moved. "I thank the Lord that I have lived to see this happen," he said. Herr Brandt, 76, who was enthusiastically applauded by a crowd of 20,000 people, was mayor of the city when the Wall was built in 1961.

See also pages 2-6

Chancellor Kohl said 9 November would be "a great day in the history of the city and in German history." *dpa*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, *Cologne, 11 November 1989*)

IN THIS ISSUE



East Berliners surge to the West through a checkpoint smashed through the Wall. (Photo: dpa)

When history intoxicates

Tears flowed when the Wall came tumbling down, with demolition squads clearing the way for an outflow of emotion.

The people of Berlin, who made straight for the Wall, and Germans who tuned in to radio and TV until the early hours of 10 November realised they were witnessing one of history's infrequent high days.

Who, beforehand, would have imagined Bundestag members in Bonn were capable *of making the simple but magnificent ges*ture they made that Thursday evening, 9 November, in plenary session?

Carried away by the emotion of the moment, having just heard the news that the GDR had thrown open its borders to the West, they stood up and sang the national anthem.

We can already be sure that the sight of MPs in tears, choked with emotion, will go down in history — whatever turn events may take.

What was it that was so moving for distant listeners and viewers, even for

Continued on page 6

Other countries have their say

Every nation is said to write its own history. If that is so, then the Germans are in the process of writing a chapter that seems sure to be prescribed political reading.

So often (mis)used by their leaders for walk-on parts, the Germans are now acting freely, responsibly, peacefully and with self-assurance.

The play that is unfolding before our eyes commands media attention all over the world, apart perhaps from China.

Egon Krenz, of all people, who last June in *Peking congratulated the Chinese* leaders on crushing the democracy movement, has punched holes in the Ber*lin Wall, doubtless to Peking's dismay.*

The West's imagination is mainly fired by the Germans have succeeded overnight in making the option of a powerful rapprochement, going far beyond mere economic ties between their two states, even including the possibility of reunification, appear entirely realistic.

The Observer, London, says no democrat who believes in self-determination has the right to deny Germans unity.

Other newspapers, especially the French Press, are mainly worried by the economic and political potential a united Germany would have.

The London *Sunday Times* even has visions of a Fourth Reich.

More level-headedly, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* notes the historic dimension of events in Germany.

It refers to what is arguably the most important point, saying that the survival of the Soviet leadership may depend on the further course of developments in Germany. *Erwin Duncker*

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 13 November 1989)





The happiness and the hatred. An East Berlin woman is overwhelmed as she reaches the West; a West Berlin man attacks the Wall with a hammer. (Photos: dpa)

GERMANY

The champagne runs with the tears as the Ku'damm hosts a huge party

It's five o'clock in the morning on 10 November. On West Berlin's Kurfürstendamm one young man parks his car across two lanes. Asked why he says: "Because I'm against the wall. Let the police come if they want."

Just a few metres away, police are trying to control traffic on the "Kranzlereck" (where the famous Cafe Kranzler is). A hopeless task. The Ku'damm is bursting at the seams.

Rockets whizz into the night sky. The intersection at the Joachimstaler Strasse is jam-packed. *Rien ne va plus.*

A Berlin chief of police once said back in the days of the Kaiser that roads are for traffic. Not tonight.

Two men hold up a banner reading "The wall must go." The crowd whistles and cheers.

The Trabant cars ("Trabbies") from the GDR are on parade. Hands bang on car roofs in welcome.

One taxi from East Berlin drives around with no particular destination. "We simply decided to drive off to see the Ku'damm for the first time," says a man at the wheel of one of the sputtering vehicles. The woman in the passenger seat laughs and smiles at her two wide-eyed children in the back seat.

One young man has a bunch of flowers in his hand: "I'm taking them back to my mother as a present to show that I was here." Flowers can be bought at night in West Berlin. A woman embraces him and says: "It's unbelievable."

There was a big celebration in the Neukölln banqueting hall in West Berlin on the previous evening. As six chefs with their white caps bring in a stack of lobsters the "news" spreads like wildfire from table to table: they're coming through the Brandenburg Gate.

The Gate stands in glistening light. The verdigris four-horsed chariot faces the East. The sign, "Beware, you are now leaving West Berlin", has been painted over.

There is barely room to move on the two lookout platforms.

A host of burning candles. One man lifts another so that he can place his candle on the top of the wall.

Spotlights glare from "the other side". The black-red-and-gold flag flutters on top of the Reichstag building, illuminated by yellow light. In front of the Brandenburg Gate — how close it seems! — there are flower boxes, but there is no sign of movement.

West Berlin's former Education Senator, Renate Laurien, is surrounded by young people.

"I can't stand these Pan-German remarks," says one member of the group. In the crowd Frau Laurien says: "We advocate German unity, but we do not determine it." And she adds: "Whoever loves his fatherland is not necessarily a chauvinist."

The news that the border is "open" hits the audience like a bombshell. The subject under discussion was the right of franchise for foreigners.

The people come flocking to the wall. The Strasse des 17 Juni is jammed. British officers keep a low profile.

Four young men, one of them dressed in an elegant cloak, walk along the top of the wall and pass the bottle.

A police official tries to radio a rundown of the situation: "We've got four people dancing around on the wall. Frau Laurien is gone."

Someone on the intercom asks: "Can you confirm activities on the other side." The reply: "No, not at all."



British and American television reporters try to film the historic scenes. A profusion of colour.

A man belonging to the Directional Radio Transmission Group explains the technical side: the pictures are transmitted to the Schäferberg in Berlin, then to Frankfurt, from there to a relay station in Bavaria and finally to the rest of the world.

TV reporters tell the young man "Once more!" Someone lifts the young man up onto the wall until the cameras get the right angle.

"Hallo Ralph," says one man, "we can climb over the wall tonight."

A Military Police car draws up. There is tremendous curiosity on the lookout platforms.

"High-ranking allied officials," the report later ran, "left the partys during the night" after news came that something was "going on." A group of men at the Bornholmer Strasse checkpoint start chanting: "German unity must not die."

Amidst the chaotic turmoil one police official complains that the stream of onlookers was turning into a raging torrent.

One East German goes up to a West German policeman and says: "I want to shake hands with a real policeman."

"To begin with they came in small batches, but now the dam has burst," the policeman remarks.

Two border guards in the watch-tower on the "other" side of the Bornholmer bridge can be seen moving to and fro, their faces not discernible from a distance. Beneath them a moving mass of people moving westwards.

"We just want to see what it's like over here." or "I want to visit my grandmother in Zehlendorf, how do I get there?" Just some of the remarks heard.

By this time it's difficult to move in any direction at the Bornholmer bridge checkpoint.

Initially, the border guards stamped the photographs in the passports, but eventually decided not to bother; some people simply came over without any form of official control.

Black-red-and-gold flags are waved beneath the watch-tower. Someone has put a red rose in a policeman's buttonhole.

There's a long queue outside of the only phone booth around; ten pfenning and DM1 pieces are in great demand.

People stream into the city busses, which have run up "official journey" signs.

It's now way past midnight, but the night is long.

The buses drive along to the Kurfürstendamm. "This is the day of the century," says one young woman, crying.

She wants to go back. Someone from the Berlin Tourist Information Office took her along to a checkpoint by car and then to the celebration in Neukölln. She's got sweets, paper streamers, sparklers and other odds and ends on her lap.

The party's host dons the cap of an East German police official. The buffet has long since been cleared away. "I'll get home somehow," says the young woman.

Hans Halbach

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 November 1989)

A city's most infamous piece of architecture

Will they all go? The 295 observation towers, 43 bunkers, 243 guard dog tracks, 108km of ditches to foil bids to aim motor vehicles at the Berlin Wall?

The Wall is 169km (105 miles) long, 4.10 metres (13ft 6in) high and made of seamless concrete sections with a tubular section on top to make would-be refugees slip back.

It has a tankproof concrete base 1.80m (6ft) thick, it encircles West Berlin and no longer serves any purpose.

Freedom of travel for East Germans has made it meaningless, at least for the time being.

"The Wall is here to stay," said *Neues Deutschland* three months ago when it was still the official organ of the GDR's ruling SED of old.

Times are changing at breakneck speed. Artists in the GDR are now calling for at least part of the Wall to be left standing — for purposes of documentation. What are people going to say three months from now?

Twenty-eight years ago, in mid-1961, the GDR faced a situation that, at least outwardly, was comparable to its present predicament.

People were voting with their feet and leaving the country by the million. Between 1949 and 1961 over 2.7 million people left the GDR. In July alone 2,400 people crossed from East to West Berlin, which they could still do on foot, by car or by public transport.

The GDR authorities were fairly generous in issuing inter-zonal passes, which entitled the holder to travel to the West, car and all.

Thousands were preparing to decamp. Some had sold their furniture and valuables. Then, suddenly, on Sunday, 13 August, they had to trudge back to an empty apartment.

At one fell swoop the border had been sealed. Barbed-wire emplacements, tank traps and soldiers with machine guns at the ready closed 193 roads into and out of West Berlin.

Rias, the West Berlin broadcasting service, reported that: "Since 1 a.m. pneumatic drills have dug a hole across Ebertstrasse near the Brandenburg Gate. It is 50cm deep and 50cm wide."

That night the GDR mobilised its works militias, people's police and regular army units on a war footing.

Western imperialist subversive activity was said to constitute a threat to peace. An "anti-fascist protective wall" was needed to protect the Warsaw Pact and preserve peace in Europe.

In reality the aim was to stem the tide of refugees, just as the aim of throwing the borders open now is aimed at stemming

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GERMANY

The breaches cannot be filled in again now

Stuttgarter Zeitung

There are moments when emotions can make history. The tears, the deep-seated delight, the cheers and excitement of the night the Berlin Wall came tumbling down, as seen on TV newscasts all over the globe, have changed the country and, in all probability, the world.

The decision reached bureaucratically, and thus subject to review, by the GDR's Council of Ministers took on a historic dimension. No-one who saw the photos will have failed to realise that something irrevocable had happened. No-one, not even the masters of a People's Army, can now go back on the opening of the borders. Hundreds of thousands would leave the GDR if they were to be deprived of the freedom they were allowed to sample.

The GDR still faces a serious threat of a dramatic continued exodus. Even Opposition groups have started flyposting the border with placards calling on people to stay. These appeals will not have any real effect until the rulers who have been to blame for the deprivation of freedom from which East Germans have suffered in the past have quit.

There can be no end to the exodus until the ruling SED has relinquished its claim to automatic leadership, until free elections have been held and until genuine economic reforms have been undertaken.

Perestroika, or Gorbachov-style economic restructuring, will not be enough. Unlike people in the Soviet Union, East Germans can see day by day how a high-powered economy can function. And they will be satisfied with nothing less.

The East German leader, Egon Krenz, does not have as much time as Mr Gorbachov. Basically, he has none at all, which isn't to say that an entirely new economy must or ought to be set up overnight, one as high-powered as its West German counterpart. That is clearly impossible, and as no-one readily leaves home, surroundings, friends it isn't necessary.

What is necessary, however, is for a start to be made on far-reaching change and democratisation, and for the start to be made immediately.

Herr Krenz seems so far not have appreciated the need. He insists on the SED retaining its leadership. His commitment to free elections has been half-hearted. Economic opening, tantamount to a revolution of ideas, comes hard and calls for courage.

Yet the daily departure of the best, of people with initiative who want to get somewhere in life, is even more dangerous than everything on which public opinion insists in a country that will have no future unless changes are undertaken. The breathtaking pace of change in the GDR is a major personal and political challenge for Bonn too. No-one knows what open borders will mean in the long term. The influx of refugees is enormous and unlikely to subside until comprehensive change is clearly apparent in the GDR.

Bonn can have no interest in the structures of the East German state falling apart at the seams. The more critical the situation in the GDR is, the more people will try their luck in the West, which is simply not prepared to handle the influx. Germany can certainly not be "reunified" within the borders of the Federal Republic. What is happening in Germany is not just a German problem. It is changing the face of Europe and the world. The GDR is on its way to becoming a Western-style state, reluctantly perhaps as far as the ruling caste are concerned, but irresistibly. East Berlin will inevitably be alienated from its superpower, the Soviet Union, even though the Kremlin has urged the SED to ease restrictions and welcomed the opening of the border, which is basically no more than a logical consequence of glasnost and perestroika. But developments in the GDR are, like changes in Hungary and Poland before them, outpacing developments in the Soviet Union, and doing so at a speed Mr Gorbachov can hardly welcome.

Unsurprisingly, Moscow is opposed to German reunification and insists on the GDR remaining a member of the Warsaw Pact. The question is, of course, whether a pact made up of countries as different as the countries of Eastern Europe are now becoming can survive. Can anyone imagine the People's Army in the GDR, in its present state of turmoil, being unreservedly prepared to fight for the Soviet cause?

That isn't to say that the Soviet Union *will simply give the GDR permission to* leave its sphere of influence. Far from it. It will do all it can politically to maintain its power in central Europe.

But the greater the rapprochement between the two German states, the harder this influence will be to maintain and to justify. The parting of the ways from Moscow will usher in a new Europe. If the Warsaw Pact is to fall apart, with no stemming the tide, Nato ties are bound to grow slacker too. The face of Europe is changing, and that could lead, in the West, to the United States pulling out of the Continent, leaving the Soviet Union as the foremost European power.

The further challenge Bonn faces is the need to prevent the Federal Republic's firm anchorage in the European Community from suffering in any way from the breakneck pace of change.

Thomas Löffelholz

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 November 1989)

Continued from page 2

the tide. Walter Ulbricht, the GDR's Party leader and head of state, had called at a March 1961 Warsaw Pact conference for urgent action.

If the GDR continued to bleed at the rate it was doing, he said, it would no longer be able to fulfill its economic commitments to the East Bloc.

"The Wall was built a few months later, after the Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, had failed once and for all to persuade President Kennedy to support his plans for a solution to the "West Berlin problem."

Khrushchev wanted to demilitarise West Berlin, to make it a "free city," to merge it with the "GDR capital," to end its Four-Power status and to strip the Western Allies of their occupation rights.

In January 1959 the Soviet leader published a draft peace treaty and proposals for negotiations on German reunification, threatening to come to separate terms with the GDR.

The Allies refused. Khrushchev abandoned his plans and completely separated West and East instead.

Since 1982 old-age pensioners have been permitted to visit the West again. Since the 1970s West Germans and West Berliners have been allowed to visit the East, while the number of exit permits issued by the GDR authorities has increased steadily.

The Wall is part of Berlin. It is cold and grey in the East and colourfully sprayed with graffiti in the West, where it is clearly the longest billboard in the city.

Some graffiti would now cost the artist a small fortune. In the early 1980s one sprayer painted an open door on the Western side of the Wall, complete with the legend: "I'll pay a mark to anyone who gets through here."

The Wall is a tourist attraction and part of life for the people of West Berlin. Three years ago, when the Wall was 25 years old, a Berlin journalist wrote:

"There is no mistaking West Berlin, with its day-to-day border, like an island in the sea. If the border were to vanish overnight what total confusion it would create!"

Paul Kreiner

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 November 1989)

Bonn President Richard von Weizsäcker (left) greets an East German policeman on East German soil where the Wall was breached at Potsdamerplatz. (Photo: AP)



Reconciliation process. Chancellor Helmut Kohl and prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki at Krzyzowa. (Photo: AP)

From Berlin to Warsaw — a shuttle mission

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Poland's Prime Minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, both attended a church service on the former estate of Count Helmuth *James von Moltke, a member of the German resistance*, in Krzyzowa in the former Lower Silesia. The Catholic ceremony was the moral climax of Kohl's visit to Poland, which he had resumed after flying back the day before because of events in East Germany.

There could hardly have been a more happy meeting. As East and West Germans celebrated the opening up of the inner-German borders in grand style Chancellor Kohl's visit to Poland reached its climax.

Although the symbolic embrace between Chancellor Kohl and Prime Minister Mazowiecki during the church service in the Silesian town of Krzyzowa has not yet sealed German-Polish reconciliation, which can only result from a lengthier process, this reconciliation is now underway.

The Warsaw Treaty of 1970 and Helmut Schmidt's visit to Poland seven years later paved the way for the success of Kohl's visit. On previous occasions, however, it was the dividing rather than the uniting aspect which marked such meetings.

This was not only due to difficulties in dealing with the past history of relations between the two peoples, but also to the lack of common ground in current relations. There was hardly anything which pointed towards the future.

The situation was different in Krzyzowa. This meeting brought together two democratic politicians in a framework which could not have been more dignified.

A church service at a place of German resistance to National Socialism — both Poles and German can identify with this gesture. The past may not be dead, but Krzyzowa showed a path towards a German-Polish future.

In Berlin and in Silesia the vision of a better Europe emerged on this historic Sunday.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 November 1989)

GERMANY

Dresden party boss elected premier in secret ballot

First, the East Berlin politburo resigned en masse; then a new, smaller politburo with 13 members instead of 21 was appointed; and now the boss of the Dresden party, Hans Modrow, has been elected prime minister by the Volkskammer (parliament) in an historic secret ballot. Never before has the Volkskammer used a secret ballot.

Seat of power

The politburo is the most powerful body in East Germany. It decides the country's political course, which means that, in effect, it has government power.

The politburo had 21 members plus five non-voting members until the change. It now has 13 members, candidates. It is the power fulcrum of the Socialist Unity Party (SED).

It was reduced in size following the resignation of the former head of state and government leader Erich Honecker and a number of dismissals.

Members are appointed by the SED's central committee, whose hitherto 163 members and 50 successor candidates are elected during party congresses.

The politburo, which is obliged to account to the central committee for its actions, meets every Tuesday behind closed doors. These meetings are chaired by the party's general secretary (now Egon Krenz).

So far the SED has retained the *claim to leadership guaranteed by the* constitution. The party first appointed the politburo in 1949 and thus aligned its leadership structure to the Moscow model.

AP/dpa

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 9 November 1989)

First, the resignation of the entire politburo; then the promise of free elections. The pace of change is breathtaking. No one can doubt that *this is a revolution.*

Certainly not the old guard of professional revolutionaries, almost all of whom have made their exit from the stage.

They still seriously believe they were in harmony with the laws of law world history. In their own way they remain German idealists to the bitter end.

Very few people believe that Egon Krenz will now be able to remain head of the unnerved Socialist Unity Party (SED) for long. He lacks the political substance and personality required in



this era of change. Hans Modrow, the Dresden party boss, is a viable alternative.

But the Communist reactionaries (what term could better describe the ongoing transvaluation of all values?) are still powerful enough to stall the rise of a "German Gorbachov" to the top of the party and the government.

Their desperate attempt to preserve the power monopoly of the SED and prevent free elections was doomed to failure. It was an illusion right from the



Has waited a long time... prime minister Modrow. (Photo: Werek)

start, since the whole world is now witnessing how the GDR people demands its inalienable rights.

Following the popular uprising in the GDR on 17 June, 1953, Berthold Brecht recommended with bitter irony that the easiest solution would be for the government to dissolve the people and elect a new one.

Thirty-six years later the opposite is happening: the people have forced the government to resign.

Fellow Germans in the free part of the common nation experience what is taking place with deep emotion, as Helmut Kohl put it, with admiration (Hans-Jochen Vogel) and with pride (Hans-Dietrich Genscher).

In a special Bundestag debate the classical democratic parties — with the exception of the Greens — praised the non-violent renewal of the other German state by the people as a peaceful revolution.

Bernd Brügge

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 9 November 1989)

A singular man — he suffers from popularity

The new hopeful among the comrades who form East Berlin's new politburo is at the same time the old one.

Hans Modrow, the Dresden party boss, has for a long time being considered as a possible key figure in the post-Honecker era.

He owes this reputation in part at least to the search by western media for interesting profiles in the SED.

Some people even view Modrow as the "Gorbachov of the GDR", a man who would persuade the second German state to drop its aversion to the reform efforts in the Soviet Union.

It is not easy to say why so many hopes have been pinned on Modrow. He was hardly noticed by political observers or analysts up until the mid-1980s.

Up until then his career was that of a top party official: a member of the leading cadre of the FDJ, the SED youth organisation, during the early years of the GDR, political instruction at the elite instruction centres in Moscow and Warsaw, promotion in the party from the local administration in the Berlin suburb of Köpenick via the central party apparatus to head of the district of Dresden.

Little was heard about him after he reached this position. There was, however, a remark which was interpretable as criticism of Honecker and a travel report on economic reforms in China which was understood as an appeal to the East Berlin leadership.

It was also claimed that Modrow's life style and demeanour differed from that of other leading party officials — modest, pensive and, to a certain extent, popular.

Admittedly, he never publicly promoted the image of a rebel.

Even when, at a time when he was long since viewed as a reformist contender, he visited the SPD in Stuttgart his views were still rather restrained.

Within the GDR Communist party, however, Modrow had apparently become a thorn in the flesh of the party's higher echelons and Erich Honecker. The fact that he was a member of the Central Committee since 1967 but never elected to the Politburo confirms this fact.

He was presumably too awkward for the gerontocrat Honecker and his cronies.

In June he was reprimanded by the Central Committee, albeit without naming names but in a way which was an obvious warning to all those who wanted to follow his example.

His election to the Politburo has now made him one of the leading politicians in the GDR.

It remains to be seen whether he can really give the policies of the SED the new and reformist momentum expected of him in this role or whether his main task is to be involved in the attempt by Egon Krenz to save the Communist party.

The office of prime minister of the GDR, which Modrow is expected to take over from Willi Stoph, has not been a key position so far; in the wake of the expected restructuring of the GDR's system of government, however, it may become one.

Yet even then Modrow would have to clarify his stance much more emphatically if he is to become a real hope for the future and not just a hopeful.

Hermann Rudolph

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 9 November 1989)

Shock story: news at an East Berlin news conference

Western journalists are used to having difficulty getting information in East Germany. Getting official answers to questions is tough going.

So they could believe neither their eyes nor their ears last week when a member of the politbüro, Günter Schabowski, turned up to face the international press.

More than 20 television cameras were installed in the jam-packed press centre for the occasion.

Journalists who had been skeptical about promises of a "free and proper" press conference were proved wrong. Schabowski answered the questions in such a frank way that it was difficult to imagine that East Germany had ever practised a different information policy.

Without using the usual party jargon, he did more than just announce the central committee resolutions. This was in contrast to the new government spokesman, Wolfgang Meyer, who simply read from a prepared text to announce the resignation of the government the day before.

Schabowski talked in a self-assured manner. He did not agitate. He was convincing. It was an obvious effort to establish greater trust.

For almost a whole hour he answered questions relating to free elections, the leading role of the Communist party (SED), the exodus of refugees and the changing policy of the SED.

At the end of the official press conference he gave short interviews in English. Unable to push his way through the correspondents who thronged towards him and still bombarded by questions he groaned amid the laughter of the representatives of the press: "It breaks my heart, I'm not the right man for this job."

Dispensed with the jargon... media chief Schabowski. (Photo: dpa)

No sooner had he said this than he made appointments for short interviews with English-language TV and radio stations for the next day.

Following the reshuffle of politburo Schabowski, a trained journalist, is now also officially responsible for "Information and Media." Under his predecessor, Joachim Hermann, this department was called "Agitation and Propaganda."

As editor-in-chief of the Communist party newspaper *Neues Deutschland* between March 1978 and November 1985 Schabowski demonstrated that he knows his way around both fields.

His activity in this post brought recognition inside the party and led to his appointment as head of the SED in Berlin.

This appointment, however, was like sitting in an ejector seat. His predecessor, Konrad Naumann, had ruined the party's image in this district and seriously damaged cultural policy through his high-handed approach.

With his characteristic thoroughness Schabowski managed to improve the party's image in Berlin and then respond flexibly to emerging changes.

It came as no surprise, therefore, that Schabowski, together with the other reformer Hans Modrow, were the first representatives of the SED leadership

Continued on page 7

PERSPECTIVE

Upheaval and adjustment in East Bloc

Just a few weeks ago Europe was a continent of military alliances: the North Atlantic Treaty in the West and the Warsaw Pact in the East.

Despite all the differences both embodied a kind of European security order. The frontiers through Europe were stabilised, the United States was fitted into the European balance of power to offset the influence of the Soviet Union, and the policy of detente was harmonised. An acceptable state of affairs.

Now, however, this order is also affected by East Bloc upheavals. Can the Warsaw Pact adjust to reforms or will they steamroller its structure?

Mikhail Gorbachev pins his hopes on adjustment. Almost a year ago he announced to the United Nations assembly in New York that the "freedom to decide for oneself" is a "universal basic principle."

For some years now the Kremlin has shown no interest in any interference in internal affairs. For Moscow ideological uniformity in Eastern Europe is no longer a condition of Soviet security.

The existing treaties of friendship and mutual assistance which, to play on the safe side, the Soviet Union concluded with its allies together with the Warsaw Pact still call for the "approval of socialist internationalism." Furthermore, no-one knows whether the Red Army might not — as a last and desperate resort — step in if the fire of reform in Eastern Europe turns into an uncontrollable conflagration.

However, the Soviet Union has renounced the "Brezhnev doctrine" which set out to justify military intervention wherever socialism was in jeopardy.

During Gorbachev's visit to Finland at the end of October his clever press spokesman, Gennady Gerasimov, jokingly remarked to the press:

"The Brezhnev doctrine is dead. But you know the old song by Frank Sinatra, *My Way*. Hungary and Poland are doing things their way. Today we have the Sinatra doctrine."

True to the spirit of this doctrine the Soviet leader praised the example of a neutral Finland "as a model for relations between large and small states."

Soviet Foreign Minister, Edward Shevardnadze, reiterated the old Soviet proposal "to liquidate the politico-military groupings in Europe" — in other words, Nato and the Warsaw Pact — "on the basis of reciprocity." Is the Warsaw Pact falling apart with Soviet approval?

It does not look like it, since the Soviet Union under Gorbachev is still convinced that a buffer zone is necessary in Eastern Europe to guarantee its own security.

It has, however, understood the fact that defence in its own country by and large suffices for its *military* security as long as the buffer zone continues to exist. To ensure its existence it should by no means force its allies into their former submissiveness.

It is much better to discreetly recall that the Warsaw Pact also guarantees existing frontiers in Europe.

Despite all the flexibility Soviet spokesmen remind allies that they have all agreed to longer-term legal commitments.

Whereas each Nato member can opt out of the western alliance with one year's notice the Warsaw Pact states are contractually bound until the year 2005 at least.

The difficulty of the Soviet task was already formulated by Helmut Sonnenfeldt, formerly a close adviser of the then US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, in 1976:

"Through their inability to gain the loyalty of the Eastern European countries the Soviets have historically failed — unfortunately. For Eastern Europe lies in its natural sphere of interests."

Sonnenfeldt called for an "organic relationship" between Moscow and its allies, much to the dismay of American conservatives.

Gorbachev would like to heed this advice today. The question is, however, whether he can put right the many failings of his predecessors in time.

His chance lies in the statesmanlike willingness of Eastern Europe's reformers to continue to respect the security needs of the Soviet Union in their own interest.

The Warsaw Pact must rid itself of any claim to the Soviet spoon-feeding which has existed during the past 35 years.

Poland and Hungary are outspoken in their demands.

Gorbachev and his comrades-in-arms in Moscow are willing to move along this road.

They only hope that this clearance process simply sheds ballast and does not provoke traditional Russian fears about the country's security.

Otherwise, something Gorbachev repeatedly points out to western visitors, his reform would be seriously jeopardised — and with it the chance to establish a new and better security order in Europe as a whole.

Christoph Bertram

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 10 November 1989)

Uncertain Western reaction to uncertain changes

No-one in the West has a patent remedy for the best response to the changes taking place in Eastern Europe. The Americans are no exception.

The general mood is marked by helplessness and perplexity.

President Bush has placatively said that he has no intention of being forced into overreacting. He favours circumspection and diplomatic restraint.

American authorities on the European scene — of which there are not all that many — are just as surprised as the more immediately affected Western Europeans at the "emotional development" and unpredictable momentum with which sections of the population in Eastern Europe are giving vent to their frustrations.

The latest German-American conference organised by the Konrad Adenauer foundation in Bonn proved the point. Each participant expected the other side to point the way.

It is all too obvious that the USA is in a particular dilemma.

On the one hand, the new Administration under George Bush wants to do business with the Soviet leadership. Secretary of State, James Baker, made this clear during his recent speech in New York.

He pointed out that, although it is by no means clear whether *perestroika* will be a success, it is this uncertainty which warrants greater effort to seize available opportunities.

Baker apparently believes that internal changes in the Soviet Union will make the latter less aggressive, thus providing an improved basis for agreements.

On the other hand, there is the traditional American conviction that everything which amounts to self-determination must be supported. Does this also entail self-determination for the rebellious nationalities in the Soviet Union, such as the Baltic states, whose annexation by Moscow has never been recognised by the USA?

A dilemma emerges which extends far into American domestic policy.

President Bush, for example, had to face up to criticism by Opposition politicians that his financial aid for Poland and Hungary was too meagre — $435m instead of the amount of $1bn called for by Congress.

The leader of the Democrat majority in the US Senate, George J. Mitchell, urged President Bush to drop the status quo-mindedness which appears to prevail in Administration politics. Mitchell would like to see less ambiguity, hesitation and timidity and a more energetic and committed policy.

German officials, such as Chancellor Kohl's adviser, Horst Teltschik, have little more to offer in this situation that the advice to maintain certain parameters when supporting change in Eastern Europe. In Teltschik's opinion this primarily means respecting the European status quo and thus safeguarding Soviet security interests, albeit not necessarily for all eternity.

Taking into account these reservations Western Europe and the USA could indeed provide joint assistance. Changes of the kind never experienced since the second world war are a distinct possibility.

However, the self-critical American objection runs, do we not thus cement precisely the status quo we are really trying to overcome? Does the factor of Soviet security interests represent a new fetter?

"We do not control the pace in Eastern Europe," was the resigned realisation of the former US ambassador in East Berlin, Rozanne Ridgway. This is particularly true with respect to the relationship between the two German states.

The pictures of the refugee exodus from the GDR and the protest demonstrations of a growing number of GDR citizens during recent weeks have revived dormant fears in the USA of a German *Sonderweg*, a separate German path, and of a development which could get out of control.

All the old catchwords, from the "German card" which Mikhail Gorbachev could play to German neutralism, have surfaced anew.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Bonn Defence Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg and CDU business manager Volker Rühe never miss an opportunity to stress the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany is firmly embedded in the western alliance. They reiterate that there will neither be a change of course nor a weakening of Bonn's engagement for the process of Western European unification.

Stoltenberg remarked that the "temptations of a separate German path with respect to Eastern Europe are fundamentally inappropriate."

It remains to be seen how long such an assurance lasts. It is nothing new and

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REFUGEES

Language and training help the Germans

Refugees from East Germany are continuing to pour into the Federal Republic — day after day after day. They clearly do not trust the promises of reform put out by the East Berlin socialist unity party (SED).

Between January and September 110,000 East Germans got out. Over the same period 260,000 ethnic-Germans from other East Bloc countries arrived as well. (The rate has increased: by the first week of November, 167,000 East Germans had arrived, 101,000 with permission; and 297,000 from other East Bloc countries.)

The exodus is creating immediate problems: shortages of housing and jobs. The first call for refugees is the labour exchange — for most, the dole is their only source of cash.

By the end of October there were 115,000 unemployed people originating from East Bloc countries excluding East Germany compared with 62,000 East German unemployed. That is not a lot measured against the total jobless figure of 1.9 million jobless in this country — but it does nevertheless represent 9.5 per cent of total unemployed.

There are not only big regional differences in unemployment among migrants. There are also big difference in the rate between East Germans and migrants from Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union.

Refugees from East Berlin, Saxony, *Thuringia, Mecklenburg, regions in East* Germany with a long commercial tradition and an industrious population, arrive highly motivated. They have left their homes and jobs. They have given up homes and belongings to take the risky leap into the unknown.

Most are young. All speak German. Most are skilled specialist workers. They might have to change working methods. Equipment and machinery here, for example, is more modern. But that is only a matter of adjustment.

Obviously word has got around in East Germany that commercial staff, particularly those with academic training, teachers and lawyers, have a difficult time in the West. Their training is different and there are, in any case, few jobs going in these areas. So they tend to remain behind.

The end result is that East German refugees find jobs more quickly. Most are unemployed for only a few weeks.

Ethnic-German immigrants have a much harder time. More often than not their job qualifications are inadequate. Most speak either little or no German, and they are much older.

Labour exchange officials worry that these people will be pushed aside by the whirlwind of East Germans.

Both, refugees and ethnic-German immigrants, must get used to radical changes in their domestic lives and working circumstances. They will gladly adjust if it means greater mobility, higher living standards and shop-windows full of goods to buy.

But there are many who will have to make enormous efforts to adjust and who will suffer disappointments — the lack of accommodation, which is expensive by their standards, with the bustle of life in West Germany to which they are not used, the degree of personal responsibility. Piecework in factories, with little time for easing off, means more pressure on the job.

There are already cases recorded of ethnic-Germans immigrants who have indiscriminately accepted a job with a first sense of relief, and then have left it, perhaps because they could not do it, or because they realised that they had sold their labour too cheaply.

Certainly the elderly unemployed in the Federal Republic will realise that they have competition, people better qualified, much younger, agile-minded and possibly more prepared to work.

A works manager from the Upper Palatinate reported that the ethnic-German immigrants were a blessing for his factory because competent workers moved to the large cities and he could not recruit workers despite the high unemployment.

The migrants will soon realise that the Federal Republic's free enterprise economy tempered by social justice and the need to safeguard community interests is a successful system, but the country is not a rest-home.

The system gives people much more freedom than socialism, but also more responsibility for the running of their own lives themselves.

It is a free market economy and there is competition. The driving force behind the competition is not brotherly love, but one's own abilities. Despite all social safeguards this applies to the labour market.

A woman official from a labour exchange said about the refugees: "The tough work is now beginning for us." This is true for the immigrants as well.

They are not coming to a land flowing with milk and honey. Ernst Breit, head of the German Trade Unions' Federation, has warned about false ideas about life in the Federal Republic.

As a result of events over the past few days, perhaps many, who were prepared *to leave the GDR, will be moved to fight* for democratic reforms in their own country.

Volker Wörl

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 7 November 1989)

Influx is turning a shortage of housing into an emergency

There is a shortage of 800,000 housing units across the nation, says the tenants association. It says that last year, there was a shortage of 150,000 units at the cheap end of the market; 12,000 were built. Manfred Rommel, who is mayor of Stuttgart and president of the Cities Conference, spoke of a national emergency with students sleeping in tent cities, refugees in villages made of containers, ethnic-German immigrants in hostels and thousands of people searching for accommodation. The continuous influx of refugees has intensified the shortage. This story was written by Frank J. Eichhorn. It appeared in *Stuttgarter Zeitung*.

The influx of refugees from both East Germany and other East Bloc countries has brought problems no one knows how to solve.

It is not a matter of a few thousand East German refugees entering the country, but hundreds of thousands. They all want a better life. They all want to work — and they all are looking for somewhere to live.

The flood of refugees is causing problems on the labour market, although here the difficulties appear to be resolving themselves with astonishing speed. Housing is different. Here the additional demand is weighing on a situation that was already tense. Officials have reacted too late to changes which have been apparent for some time.

All the political parties and their specialist scientific and economic advisers have been wrong about the accommodation market for several years.

Allegedly superfluous, less attractive accommodation has been torn down — calls for doing this were being made less than three years ago.

Urgent warnings were given about investing in new accommodation — even last year. There was, and still is, talk about the excellent supply of accommodation. Although this is hardly true of the present need, this view has been reinforced by statistics.

All these demands, judgments and facts have created a climate of opinion in the past which is still held today and which has not favoured building new accommodation.

Potential investors in real estate who were prepared to make losses at the beginning in the hopes of making a profit from their investments after a few years no longer believe it is worth investing in property in the medium or long-term.

There has been a drop in the number of new homes and the building industry has reduced capacity. Building workers have been paid off, the equipment needed for home-building has been cut back and the industry's expectations lowered.

Although it is not the only culprit, the Bonn government has contributed to this and therefore deserves reproach. On the other hand, it has also made things change more quickly in a positive direction.

Decisions have been made which have brought about drastic changes in the living accommodation market: the appointment of Gerda Hasselfeldt as Building Minister, who promptly introduced changes; the replacement of the department head in the Ministry who was incapable of seeing through changes.

The Bonn government and the coalition parties have reacted actively over the past few months with programme ideas, which in part border on purely just doing something for the sake of doing something.

But the government has been able to interest private investors into placing their money in building again. The climate on the accommodation market has noticeably changed, investment appears a better bet; the home can compete for capital again. Shortly many investors intend and will build homes.

But hopes and *demands ricochet* off the capabilities of the building industry. It is not possible to expand newbuilding swiftly; even those who loudly demand programmes running into billions, warn about the false notion that the situation can be cured in the short-term.

No matter how much cash is available building capacities cannot be expanded overnight, capacities which were reduced over the past few years.

Representatives of the building industry believe it is wrong to cling to the expectation that in three years' time a million homes can be built.

But the refugees and the ethnic-German immigrants are here, swelling the numbers of those seeking accommodation, and there are already further hundreds of thousands who are just waiting for the chance to immigrate into the Federal Republic.

No one is able to say where they will find suitable accommodation. The Bonn government is trying to help repair accommodation, is trying to stimulate a better use of present accommodation and is encouraging landlords to be less cautious.

These are steps in the *right direction*, but they will not bring a *swift solution to* the problems on the accommodation market. No one has an answer for them.

Even the affluent Federal Republic cannot increase the accommodation situation swiftly enough.

Frank J. Eichhorn

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 8 November 1989)

Continued from page 1

those who had no relatives to visit and who had long enjoyed the freedoms that are now being fought for in the GDR?

It was definitely not just a sudden outburst of national sentiment, and maybe not just the delight that is invariably triggered by a victory over oppression and arbitrary rule whenever and wherever it occurs and, especially of course, when it is so close to us.

It was something even more general in character that overwhelmed us: the moment itself, its dramatic properties, the openness of the horizon, the shroud unveiled.

Millions of life stories overlap at a moment such as this. We had talked so much about history and almost forgotten what it was. We now know again.

No-one can say what will yet happen, whether the ending will be happy or disastrous. No-one knows what the moment will mean, but we can all claim to have witnessed it: a historic moment.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 November 1989)

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is perhaps not even necessary if reference is made to what George Bush said in an interview he gave to the *New York Times.*

Bush commented that a great deal has been written about the fear of reunification, "which I personally do not share."

President Bush does not want to work out a timetable for the eventuality. On this point he finds himself in agreement with Chancellor Kohl, who does not want to deal with the concept of reunification as a highly topical subject but who prefers to wait and see which concrete measures are taken by the new leadership in East Berlin.

Gerhard von Glinski

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 3 November 1989)

Mortared

The shortage of housing accommodation is an emergency being discussed by all the political parties. Bonn and the state governments are trying to work out the best ways to boost building. Construction Minister Gerda Hasselfeldt plans to spend 1.6 billion marks building 100,000 low-rent homes next year — an increased allocation. Manfred Rommel, mayor of Stuttgart and president of the Cities Conference, reckons that a sum of about 10 billion marks is needed to get to grips with the problem. The minister's hopes might also be optimistic — according to Günther Herion, a construction industry spokesman, it takes about two years to put up a home from the time permission is given.

EUROPE 1992

Higher air fares threatened to recoup losses if duty-free trading is banned

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

"Freedom must be boundless, up there in the sky," German chanson star Reinhard Mey used to sing. Those were the days (or soon will have been).

Even those who can't remember Mey's pleasant and melodious voice will probably be acquainted with airport shops and cabin staff hawking their wares in flight with their memorable cry: "Duty-frees! Duty-frees!"

It will soon be only a memory in the European Community. From 1993, the European Commission is firmly resolved, duty-free shopping is to end in the single European market.

There will be no more duty-free tobacco, spirits and perfume sold at airport shops or in flight or, for that matter, on board cross-Channel (and other) ferries.

The inexorable logic of the Brussels Eurocrats is that if customs barriers between the 12 European Community countries are to be abolished there can be no tax-free zones, nominal or otherwise, between them.

Besides, why should people who fly from Frankfurt to Paris be entitled to buy duty-free goods when those who travel by car or by rail aren't?

As Bonn agrees with Brussels that there is no logic in duty-free provisions within the Community, the days of duty-free shopping within Europe definitely seem to be numbered.

Some of the consequences will be unpleasant, of course, and not just for the traveller accustomed to buying a bottle of spirits and a carton of cigarettes.

A Dutch economic research institute says duty-free traders in the European Community countries employ a payroll of 7,200 and turn over an annual DM4.5bn or so.

The lion's share, DM2.6bn, changes hands at airport duty-free shops. A further DM1bn is sold on board aircraft serving international routes. The remaining DM850m is spent on board ferries.

Nearly DM3bn of the total is spent by travellers between European Community member-countries. This is the business that will end in 1992. Overseas travellers will continue to have access to duty-free shopping.

Wolfgang Gross, manager of the duty-free shop at Cologne-Bonn airport, says the loss in turnover will hit traders hard.

Travellers may at times have criticised the prices charged at duty-free shops, but business has always been brisk.

Cigarettes in particular sell like hot cakes. Unsurprisingly, as tax accounts for over 70 per cent of their retail price. A carton of cigarettes that costs DM40 at the corner shop sells for about DM25 at duty-free shops, so buying one is well worth the German traveller's while.

Yet duty-free shops still earn a handsome profit. They pay only about DM15 for the carton.

Their overheads are higher than the corner shop's, of course. Staff work longer hours, speak several languages and earn good money.

In the Federal Republic of Germany travellers pay value-added tax (at 14 per cent) on their duty-frees. In the neighbouring Benelux countries duty-frees are VAT-exempted, so prices there are even lower.

Prices vary even in Germany. Duty-free is, as it were, just the name of a shop, like a butcher or baker. And the butcher can charge whatever he wants for a joint of beef or a pound of pork chops.

"It's just the same at duty-free shops," Herr Gross says. Traders can charge whatever they want (and can get).

That is why many travellers have been disgusted to find that the duty-free price of a bottle of whisky is higher than at their local supermarket. But that is very seldom genuinely the case.

"Disgusted, Frankfurt" tends to overlook two points. One is that duty-*free shops generally one-litre bottles*, whereas whisky and spirits are normally sold in 0.7-litre (or 0.75-litre) bottles.

The other is that duty-free shops sell higher-grade, longer-matured brands that cost more than the standard brands everywhere. Much the same applies to cosmetics.

Frequent and business travellers know a bargain when they see one. They often spend several hundred marks on duty-free purchases.

The end of duty-free shopping will be a sad blow to them. Sad, too, for duty-free traders. Sad for the airports as well, who earn a small fortune from duty-free turnover.

The Dutch survey mentioned earlier arrives at the conclusion that 38 per cent of duty-free turnover goes to the airport authority in one form or another.

The firm that runs the duty-free shop at Cologne-Bonn airport sells about DM9m of goods a year. The airport nets about DM3m of this total in rent, overheads and its percentage share of turnover.

Were it not for this annual windfall Cologne-Bonn airport, for one, would run at a loss.

"If duty-free turnover plummets it will hit our balance sheet hard," says Hans Ley, spokesman for the airport authority. "Every mark spent at a small airport like ours is important."

At nearby Düsseldorf airport the figures are even more impressive. The duty-free shop's annual turnover is DM67m, of which over DM20m is paid to the airport.

A "Fight For Duty-Free Now" campaign is planned by airports and traders in a bid to mobilise public opinion and negotiate transitional arrangements for five or six years.

They argue that travellers will be penalised in two ways. They will no longer be able to buy duty-free goods and they will probably be charged higher air fares too.

It's just not fair, say the traders

The airports, campaigners argue, will have no choice but to raise take-off and landing fees in order to recoup their own costs. Airlines will then charge travellers higher fares.

Herr Ley is unwilling to speculate so far ahead. "I'm still doubtful whether air fares will increase when duty-free shopping is abolished," he says. Airports will first have to cut costs.

Duty-free traders say it is unfair that charter passengers flying to holiday destinations in Spain, Portugal, Italy or *Greece will not be entitled to duty-*frees, whereas holidaymakers flying to Yugoslavia, Turkey or further afield will still enjoy the privilege.

How does the duty-free shop at Cologne airport plan to cope with the loss of duty-free turnover within the European Community?

Duty-free goods will still be sold to non-Community travellers and a wider range of quality goods will be sold to travellers within the European Community.

"We are already testing watches and leatherware, which we didn't use to stock," Herr Gross says.

He bases his hopes on long years of experience. "Travellers sit waiting in the lounge and are bored stiff," he says. "They then remember that they might buy a gift or two for the folks back home."

Jürgen Sussenburger

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 4 November 1989)

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to talk to co-founders of the Opposition New Forum at the end of October.

These contacts must be "perfected", said Schabowski following the Central Committee meeting. He added that the table at which this takes place could have any shape, an obvious allusion to the roundtable talks in Poland.

Modrow and Schabowski have another thing in common: they are both married to Russian women.

Schabowski's wife is known to be a supporter of the Soviet party leader, Mikhail Gorbachov.

Schabowski, born on 4 January, 1929, grew up in a working-class family in Anklam near today's GDR border to Poland.

At the age of sixteen he started working for the newspaper *Freie Gewerkschaft*. In 1949 he moved to the trade union newspaper *Tribüne*, where he stayed until 1967.

He started work for the Communist party newspaper *Neues Deutschland* in 1968 and became editor-in-chief there in 1978. Schabowski is very sharp-tongued. He is also reputed to have a quick intellectual grasp.

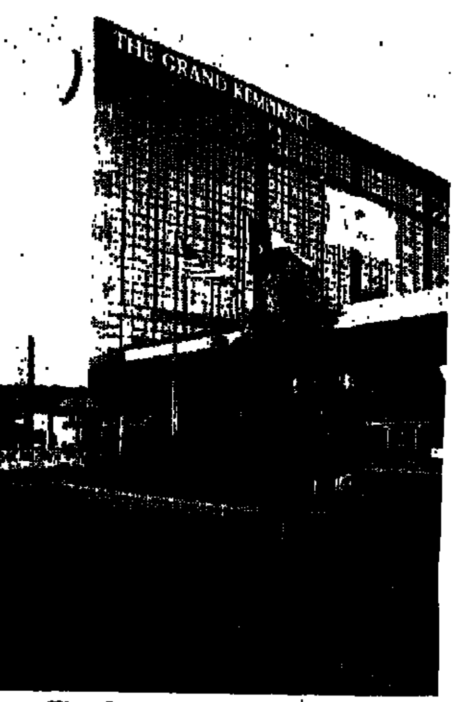
While he was waiting behind the speaker's rostrum during a demonstration in East Berlin he carefully listened to what previous speakers were saying and rewrote his own speech accordingly. He then did a fairly good job of making his own speech in a difficult situation.

Heinz Joachim Schottes

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 10 November 1989)

BUSINESS

A hotel group tries to move out from the shadow of the Hilton


The Grand Kempinski, Dallas.

The first Kempinski establishment was a pub-restaurant in Friedrichstrasse, in present-day East Berlin. That was in 1897. Today, the Kempinski group has become an international hotel concern. Lufthansa, the German airline owns 40 per cent of Kempinski and a Swiss firm, Rolanco, 20 per cent. Rolanco is almost entirely Arab owned. Ermano Höpner looks at the nascent multinational Kempinski for the Bonn paper, *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt*.

It was a sunny afternoon on Berlin's fashionable Kurfürstdamm. An old-time band played familiar numbers in the shadow of scaffolding, penned in between pedestrians and seated guests.

Above workers were working, below people were taking five o'clock tea.

This "short-term building site" involves improvements to a building of considerable tradition, yet it is only a trifle compared with other conversions and extensions which are taking place and which will be taking place under the aegis of the Kempinski organisation.

This is the case in Istanbul, in Warsaw, in Budapest and other countries abroad. It has recently been announced that up to the end of the century probably as many as 40 hotels all over the world will bear the Kempinski name.

The neon globe which adorns the Kempinski in Berlin will be blazing atop hotels as far afield as Delhi and Buenos Aires and even Hong Kong.

The neon globe is a symbol of an organisation which is expert at "playing on all the instruments of hotel marketing." The intention is to extend "Made in Germany" standards worldwide.

The original hotel of the Kempinski group is in Berlin. It is reasonable to wonder what all this general bustle about the world means? What is behind it all?

Perhaps a sophisticated way of doing business, or is it the usual straining after money, which has now taken hold of the service industries?

Or is it the idea put forward by the legendary hotelier César Ritz, "the salutary unrest, which suits a landlord."

In Ritz's time people in the hotel business with a taste for quality were showing signs of unrest. This was due to the circumstances, the increasing social mobility.

Fresh demands were made of grand hotels with the development of steam-driven luxury special trains such as the Orient Express and the Pacific Arrow, the Blue Ribbon transatlantic race in ships which sailed faster and faster all the time, and an upper class on both sides of the Atlantic whose members were astonishingly restless for travel.

The word "grand" associated with hotels had less to do with the size of the establishment than with its interior splendour, or the grandeur of the personnel darting about between the reception rooms and the restaurants.

César Ritz built the first "Ritz Hotel" in Paris in 1898, the next in London in 1905. A little later the Badrutts, Hiltons and other pioneers in the hotel business, who are now household names in the business, made a start.

The Kempinski group was set up in 1897 by Bertold Kempinski. The company's first establishment was a pub-restaurant in Berlin's Friedrichstrasse. The group's bid for the stars of hotel classification began 36 years ago with the opening of the Bristol-Kempinski in Berlin.

The group did not expand beyond the Federal Republic and made money from the hotels it operated in Germany. These recorded an occupancy rate on average of 60 per cent and above.

The luxury hotel in Berlin has accommodation for conferences and banquet rooms. The Gravenbruch-Kempinski in the Neu-Isenburg district of Frankfurt is described as "a grand hotel like a manor house in a park."

There is also the Atlantic Hotel in Hamburg, opened in 1909, formerly a stylish re uge for well-to-do Atlantic liner passengers. Their children now jet across the Atlantic, faster but certainly not more comfortably.

The oldest hotel in this list of establishments is the Four Seasons Hotel (Vier Jahreszeiten) in Munich. It was opened in 1858 in the presence of Maximilian II, a patron of the arts.

The hotel is very grand and, according to the Kempinski organisation itself, "preserves the glitter of the great European palace hotels."

All in all these hotels are a proud collection offering in all 1,244 rooms. They are all among the leading hotels in the world. They are expensive and are not shy of letting this be known.



The Atlantic, Hamburg.

(Photos: Kempinski)

Kempinski chairman Michael D. Maass said: "We are up with the times, of course, but we put quality before quantity. We want to offer the best in hotel accommodation. We have a clear idea of how a hotel bearing the Kempinski name should appear.

"We continuously invest in equipment to maintain standards as well as in training. Staff training and job rotation are aspects of our training and further training programme."

Things did not change until 1986. The hotels made their money from loyal clients — who colloquially spoke of the "Kempi" — primarily in the Federal Republic.

Then the group made moves to "go international." Kempinski concluded a marketing agreement with Lufthansa in 1985 and in 1986 the German airline took over "a considerable shareholding" in the group. The ground was prepared to launch the "traditionally de luxe concern into international circles."

The basis for this was the establisment in Geneva of a new subsidiary, Kempinski Hotels SA (Société Annonyme).

Kempinski holds 40 per cent of the equity in this company, Lufthansa Hotel-Gesellschaft has 20 per cent, and 40 per cent is held by the Rolaco company, based in Switzerland, a company which belongs almost entirely to a dollar-millionaire from Saudi Arabia, according to the American financial magazine *Fortune*.

On this solid basis the group has expanded into five top hotels within a period of nine months.

A prospectus entitled "Being a guest with the Kempinski group" describes in flowery language the other hotels under the Kempinski wing. The first hotel abroad to belong to the Berlin group was "The Grand Kempinski Dallas" in Parkway, Dallas in America. It was acquired in June 1987.

Since March 1988 the group has included the "Hotel 21 East Kempinski" in Chicago, and the "Sutton Place Hotel Kempinski" in Toronto, the fortress of Canada's lobbyists.

Since 1988 the group has operated a fabulous, city-centre hotel in Bombay, the "Leela," and a skyscraper hotel in the business and government district of Buenos Aires, the "Libertador," whose panorama bar on the 22nd floor is a well-known meeting place.


The Hotel 21 East Kempinski, Chicago.

The house prospectus for 1990 announces the "Ciragan Palace Kempinski Istanbul," whose guests will get a view of the Bosphorus as if from an oriental palace. With regard to *Kempinski's* hectic activity of taking over *new hotels a trade* magazine called the group "a shooting star" on the way to new heights.

By 1992 there will be a 350-room luxury hotel in Budapest and in Warsaw an old, 256-room grand hotel will be renovated and redecorated so that it is up to the standards demanded by the German management.

This means, for instance, a gourmet restaurant, a pub, a swimming pool with bar and of course conference rooms and a banqueting hall with every possibility for sport in a fitness centre.

The advertising for these *hotels points* out that "all Kempinski hotels are Lufthansa hotels." This means *that* reservations can be made by telephone (number 0130-33 39) at local call rates for all the Kempinski hotels in Germany and abroad.

The group has set up a service through which reservations in North America or the Far East can be made without making a long-distance call; by just paying 30 pfennigs a room can be booked at the "Leela" in Bombay or at the Avienda 9 de Julio in Buenos Aires, or if there is no accommdation available, as at the Kempinski hotel in Berlin at fair times, the message comes through on *the phone*: "Regret, we are fully booked."

The hotel group's *policy is* to attract the business community "with considerable demand potential and high revenues from business travellers," who can set some of their costs against their tax.

Turnover for 1988 increased by four per cent to DM182m. Profits dropped, because of investment, from DM2.24m to DM1.24m. A dividend of nine per cent was paid and shareholders were satisfied with this because they are going along with efforts to reach "new heights."

The group has set its sights on other top hotels in Moscow, Prague, New York, Washington, Delhi and Hong Kong for the not too distant future. Michael Maass said that there was considerable demand for good hotels in the East Bloc.

Karl Th. Walterspiel, a member of the Kempinski group board and an internationally acknowledged expert in the hotel business, said: "Long-term investment is beginning to pay off. The future looks good."

But one thing hurts: In America the name Kempinski does not count for much. The names Hilton and Ritz are much better known. But that could change.

Ermano Höpner

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 3 November 1989)

ENERGY

Saving a better proposition than generating, meeting is told

Some 450 scientists from various countries attended a congress on solar energy held by the North Rhine-Westphalian Scientific Research Centre in Herne.

Herne, the venue, a Ruhr mining town where over 30,000 mining jobs have been lost in the past 20 years, was a programme in itself.

Scientists and politicians met in Herne to discuss solar power, an alternative energy that has fascinated ecologists and high-tech aficionados in equal measure for some time.

The congress was hosted by the North Rhine-Westphalian Scientific Research Centre, a think tank recently set up by the *Land* government in Düsseldorf.

It invited politicians and specialists from Germany and abroad and representatives of solar technology manufacturers to Herne for the congress.

"We chose Herne as the venue," said the research centre's Professor Gerd Kaiser, "because we aim to demonstrate here, in the Ruhr, the opportunities solar power presents."

The head of the Düsseldorf state chancellery, Social Democrat Wolfgang Clement, said North Rhine-Westphalia was keen to maintain its reputation of being an energy state, a fuel and power state.

Increasing attention was being to regenerative energy North Rhine-Westphalia was already investing tens of millions of marks in solar power, while a new coal policy would include a more powerful incentive to save energy.

From 1995 the *Land* government envisaged negotiating percentages, not tonnages, with the power utilities.

The utilities would agree to coal accounting for, say, 30 per cent of their power output. That would be about four million tons less than the present 40.5 million tons a year the power industry buys.

Frederic Vester, head of the Munich biology and environment research unit, called for a fundamental redirection of energy and environment policy.

Marine pollution, forest damage, dead rivers, Sandoz and Chernobyl ought, he felt, to be seen in a systematic context.

Politicians and experts often tended to limit themselves to mere repair jobs which they then made out to be environmental protection.

Instead of radically saving energy they installed expensive filtration plant that produced a highly toxio residue which posed fresh waste disposal problems.

Process heat worth DM100bn a year was sent up and out of German chimneys and smokestacks, he said.

That amounted to roughly the entire turnover of the heating market. Energy had long ceased to be saved; it was squandered:

"Our high energy turnover, far too high for a viably system, and its gigantic losses basically pose a threat to the system stability of the human species."

This stability could only be regained if wastage were to stop and much wider use were made of regenerative energy.

Herr Vester was well aware that many tried and trusted ideas would need to be changed en route. One was the belief that large-scale power stations were good and preferable to small-scale units.

Numerous instances of the viability and functioning of smaller-scale and individual energy systems were mentioned at Herne.

"Even at our latitudes solar collectors work well," said Alex Lohr, a Cologne architect.

He knows only too well why the general public is in the dark about this fact: "Because many experts, from architects to building tradesmen, are simply unaware of latest developments in technology."

Houses existed that could dispense with 90 per cent of conventional energy when regenerative energy sources were used to the full. And they were no less comfortable as a result.

Insulating outside walls, windows and roofs could halve heating costs. Herr Lohr was critical of suggestions that building standards might be relaxed in view of the housing shortage.

If the one million new homes that needed building were built properly insulated, he said, enough power would be saved to make the construction of an extra nuclear power station unnecessary.

Many congress delegates felt the economic interests of energy salesmen clashed with incentives to save energy.

Yet examples from the United States show energy-saving can benefit both consumers and producers. US power utilities have scrapped plans to build new power stations and sold consumers energy-saving devices instead.

Jürgen Zurheide

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 November 1989)


Sun soaker. Bochum university students have developed this energy-saving house. (Photo: Peter Monschau)

Putting NET in the bag: talks over nuclear fusion trials

Bonn Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber was most gratified, on a recent visit to London, by the British response to his soundings on the location of the next European fusion reactor.

Scheduled to be built in the 1990s, it has been named NET, short for Next European Torus, as opposed to JET, the Joint European Torus, in Culham, England.

Herr Riesenhuber would like to see the NET built in Germany, at Karlsruhe or at Garching, near Munich.

His hosts in Whitehall had no objections, doubtless bearing in mind that *Britain was unlikely to be in the running.*

Herr Riesenhuber sees nuclear fusion in "global dimensions." He doesn't expect nuclear fusion to be a commercial proposition for 30 to 40 years, and the cost of research and development is so high that a global approach is virtually indispensable.

The DM200m a year allocated from the Bonn research budget is a drop in the ocean. The Next European Torus is likely to cost eight times the DM700m its predecessor, the Joint European Torus, cost.

Herr Riesenhuber, an enthusiastic advocate of innovation, is banking on cooperation between the United States, Japan, the Soviet Union and Western Europe as agreed by the superpowers.

The main project envisaged is the International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor (ITER).

A working party has been set up in Garching to look into the project's technological feasibility. Its agenda includes topics such as tritium production, radiation damage to the containing wall and fuel replenishment.

The momentum gained in Garching must not be lost, Herr Riesenhuber told journalists in London.

European scientists at JET in Culham waited in vain for him to say their unit could run beyond 1992.

There were sound arguments in favour of allowing JET to run for longer, he said, but he first wanted to know how Culham and Garching could interlink.

Research staff at Culham will have been expecting a slightly more forthcoming response from the German Research Minister.

British scientists were pleasantly surprised by Herr Riesenhuber's address to the Royal Society.

He was the first German Minister ever to address the society, which is housed in the building that used to be the German Imperial embassy.

He spoke to 300 invited guests, with facilities laid on by Deutsche Bank, and the chairman noted with surprise that the German Minister's entertaining speech had lasted over an hour.

Herr Riesenhuber made an impassioned appeal for cooperation between science, business and politics and for European cooperation.

To ensure that action follows these fine words Germany and Britain plan jointly to fund generous scholarships to stall the brain drain to Japan or the United States.

Thomas Linke

(Die Welt, Bonn, 6 November 1989)

EDUCATION

Universities look beyond their national borders

With a borderless Europe imminent, many institutions of learning are now thinking in terms of Europe rather than of their own nation. Grants are available to encourage students to study in another European country. Aachen's Technical University has introduced a course of European studies for graduates with a foreign language. The aim is not prestige but to help the student get a job.

Aachen's Technical University introduced a course of European studies in the last summer semester, following the example of other countries which, with their eyes on the future of Europe, have set up such courses for the younger generation of academics.

Students from all disciplines who have completed a university course and who speak at least one foreign language have been approached.

Students, who should not be too old for the two-year course, will be awarded a Master of European Studies (MES) degree at the end of the course.

Jutta Schwarz, 25, is one of those who will have these letters are her name in two years. She did her final examinations in political science in Berlin a year ago but as yet she has no job prospects.

She would like to work in the media but she was not one of the lucky ones who *could get some practical experience in the* press, radio or television.

So she went to Aachen, where she has just begun the MES course of studies.

She had thought of doing a doctorate, then she came across a leaflet from the Aachen Technical University about the course in European studies.

Winfried Böttcher, professor for political science, said that the doctorate would have given Schwarz more prestige, but the MES offers more job opportunities.

Professor Böttcher is one of the people behind the European studies course. At the beginning of the 1980s he considered how he could prepare German students for the establishment of the single European market.

After a lot of bureaucratic time-wasting the Science and Research Ministry in North Rhine-Westphalia gave its blessings to the additional study course in August last year.

According to the brochure the study course should give "a deeper insight into the legal, political, economic, historical, cultural and social problems of the European Community."

Students in the course have to study European law, European economy and European politics and can chose as they wish European history, culture and social affairs and a language course.

Lectures are divided into blocks over the whole year. No consideration has been given for semester holidays. Compressing the course of studies into two years means a lot of work.

Schwarz's day at the university begins at nine in the morning. She has a two-hour break midday and carries on till five in the evening. She does this for a whole week then that block of lectures and tuition is completed.

The course has been devised in this way and Professor Böttcher presents his lecture courses on European politics in this way. But the coordination is not always that easy. The course of studies is new for everyone, including the lecturers, who are also trying things out.

One lecturer prefers working groups, another lectures, another a conventional semester, and yet another regards study trips as most suitable for what he teaches.

This cannot be fitted in too exactly into a working day from nine until five with a two-hour break at midday.

Jutta has to study deep into the night many an evening at home. The level of the disciplines is very high, and naturally consideration cannot be given to the various requirements needed.

Everyone has to study European law, whether the student has studied law, Germanistics or engineering.

The course touches on the interdisciplinary in some aspects — when the psychologist interprets the Carlovingian basics of Europe or when the management expert examines European literature.

Twenty students are officially enrolled for the course, but there are never more than six or ten at a time, so there is always a matey atmosphere.

Their contacts with lectures are just as they should be. They know one another and after an hectic argument they have more than once cooled off by drinking a beer together.

The course is unique in the Federal Republic. Even if the small group of students have various academic courses of training to their credit, they all have one thing in common: better job expectations.

Jutta Schwarz said: "The situation could not be worse." When she has her MES she does not know if she will work in industry, in a bank or insurance company, in the European Community, in the Federal Republic or abroad, or whether she will do a doctorate.

But she is no longer worried about a job. Two of her fellow-students were given a job on the spot after an interview with a newspaper.

Professor Böttcher does not think there will be a danger that this master's degree will not be recognised abroad. He said that a master's degree was held in higher repute abroad than in the Federal Republic.

In the coming semesters visits have been arranged to establishments of the European Community and other international organisations. Important contacts can and should be made during the course

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Who studies for how long

Average length of university studies in years

Italy	7.5 years
Austria	7.3
Germany	7
France	7
Holland	5.9
Sweden	5.5
USA	over 5
Japan	4.3
Britain	less than 4

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Europe is the new catchword on the nation's campuses

More than 20,000 students have been awarded grants to study at a foreign university in Europe since 1987 under a European Community scheme called Erasmus, after a Dutch humanist. Passau University, in Bavaria, says it is overloaded with applications from students wanting to study abroad — and many applicants are not linguists. The President of the European Community, Jacques Delors, says the aim of Erasmus is that eventually 10 per cent of university students will spend some time at a foreign university.

Last year Vera Moll, 23, from Passau University, was able to achieve a long-cherished ambition: she was awarded a *grant* to spend an academic year in the Italian centre of Parma.

However, shortly after she arrived at Parma University to study business management she experienced for herself what is normal for foreign students.

"At the beginning I had no contacts at all. I had to find my own way around. Since most of my student colleagues lived with their families, I was not able to talk things over with anyone properly," she now recalls. The ice was not broken until Christmas, she said.

Open-minded professors and fellow-students, ready to help, eased her way into the economic seminar dealing with international affairs, which she had not been able to study at Passau.

Summing up her feelings about an academic exchange year she said: "For the first time university was fun."

She has another advantage: she thinks that she can write her dissertation in Italian, "for by living abroad in this way one learns how to get through and that is important for one's own personal development." Vera Moll is gifted linguistically.

She is one of the 20,000 students from European Community countries, who have been able to study at a foreign university with a supplementary grant since 1987. The "Erasmus" programme was set up two years ago with a start-up budget of 92.5 million ecus (equivalent to DM185m). "Erasmus" stands for European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of Students. It was a signal to the academic world that it had to break out of its ivory tower. The Brussels programme was linked to the name of the famous humanist from Rotterdam in the hope that the tradition of studying abroad, which he founded and which has fallen into oblivion, would be revived.

Passau University has a student body of 6,000. The University impressively shows that the founders of the Erasmus programme have hit the mark.

Herbert Bockel, head of the academic overseas department at Passau, said: "There is a growing tendency, even among students who are not linguists, to enrol for study abroad. We are overloaded with applications."

In 1987 the Erasmus programme replaced the "Joint Study Programme," also financed by the European Community. Most universities in the Federal Republic regarded the new programme with unconcealed scepticism.

They took the line that the Federal Republic already offered any number of scholarships for residence and study abroad through the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD – the German Academic Exchange Service)* and through private foundations.

They asked what was the purpose of an additional programme which would only increase administrative expenses.

It must be admitted that this objection has not been completely answered: but the critics were not right about the advantages of Erasmus.

Unlike most exchange programmes of the traditional variety, which are directed only at the so-called "free-movers" among students, the support offered within the Erasmus programme is available to all students in all disciplines.

It is much easier for applicants to get a grant covering three months to a year, particularly as the Erasmus contribution is usually only a supplement to the grant provided by DAAD or the *Bundesausbildungsförderungsgesetz*, known as Bafög, the Federal Education and Training Assistance Act.

According to Jacques *Delors*, president of the EC Commission, the aim of the founders of Erasmus was that by 1992 ten per cent of all students in the EC should be encouraged to spend some of their student career studying abroad.

By far the most important aspect of the Erasmus programme is that the student's home university is bound to recognise the study undertaken abroad.

Funds are only granted if the universities cooperating with each other have committed themselves before hand to acknowledge the validity of certificates and examinations without any limitations.

Students can go off on their travels, then, without the fear that when they return they will have to make up *for the* time they were away.

Before students prepare *to* go abroad they have to swot up a *foreign* language. Vera Moll and her student friend, Franz Mitterrutzner, 30, had to do this. He also studied business management.

In their first semester they enrolled for regional-oriented courses. According to a study conducted by Ulrich Teichler, a vocations expert, participants in foreign study programmes are strongly oriented internationally.

In his view a year abroad offers young people the best opportunities not only to learn a foreign language but to extend their horizons further.

"Students who have been abroad got on with their studies better, they are motivated better than the average student and usually get through their examinations faster," he said.

The interest in the Erasmus programme is growing. In the last academic year the office responsible for the programme approved 6,500 applications. Most were from language students, followed by students of engineering, business management and sociology.

In addition it was decided to support

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THE THEATRE

Friendly applause for depiction of a Viennese malaise

In his will Austrian dramatist Thomas Bernhard stipulated that nothing from his literary estate should be performed, printed or presented in public in any way within the confines of the "Austrian state," as he put it.

Berlin's Schiller Theater has reaped the benefits of this limitation and presented the world première of his last but one play, the "non-comedy" *Elisabeth II*, written in 1987.

Niels-Peter Rudolph directed, surprisingly in the conviction that "Bernhard was very cheerful, a man unbelievably exuding love and, despite his sarcasm and grumpiness, a very positive person."

Rudolph came to this view after meeting the dramatist personally. He was convinced of Bernhard's love of life, "of people and Austria by reversing things, by constantly putting everything to the test, attacking, provoking."

There are few Austrians who could agree with this daring interpretation of Bernhard's distaste for Austria, and which was certainly not supported by his will.

Elisabeth II, written before *Heldenplatz*, does not bear out Rudolph's view at all.

The terminally-ill grumbler Bernhard gets a chance to speak in this play. Bernhard never tires of boxing the Austrians, indignantly or masochistically, round the ears.

The three acts take place in a room with a balcony in a villa in Vienna. The rich, crippled industrialist Herrenstein rants from a wheel chair about his physical and mental decline.

He is aware enough to tick off his servant for a bad mistake, a servant who pushes him from the room window to the breakfast table and from the breakfast table back to the window.

This morning the old man has condescended to receive his unloved relations.

He suspects that among them there are legacy-hunters. They are invited to watch the procession of the British Queen, Elisabeth II, who is on a state visit to Austria.

While the intimidated servants prepare the buffet, the master of the house has time to get on the nerves of his servant, his housekeeper and a neighbour he favours with poisonous remarks on the nonsense of living and dying, about the Austrians' anti-semitism, the mentality of the Viennese fashionalble set and the wretched condition of the Burg-Theater.

He does not expect an answer, lest of all contradiction. He is his own best audience: he soliloquises in a monomaniac manner. He alone knows everything. He is the only one who has an incensed perception of the world.

He does not notice that he is in danger of interfering in the affairs of others, saying the same thing over and over again and sometimes in the same words. But the audience note this, at least those who are conversant with Bernhard's other plays.

One by one the relations arrive, gossiping and talking nonsense and outrageously dressed. They fall greedily on the buffet.

As the royal procession approaches the guests hurry to the balcony — and to death. Under their weight the rotten stonework collapses and they fall with it.

A little dust swirls upwards. A servant dryly comments: "Perhaps they are all dead." The man in the wheel-chair does not seem perturbed. He confirms the servant's doubt with one word: "Certainly."

The production produces more drama in the play than one assumed it contained when reading it. Rudolph has choreographed the rise and fall of the guests precisely and daringly with exaggerated characterisation.

Kurt Meisel in the leading role knows just how to make the misanthropic points, which Bernhard puts into the mouth of the crippled occupant of the wheel-chair, with wit about his own embitteredness.

Walter Schmidinger, Erich Schellow and Sabine Sinjen in the roles of servant, neighbour and housekeeper, squeeze what is to be squeezed out of their parts. It is not much, but it helps us to recognise *Elisabeth II* as one of Bernhard's better plays.

There were no protests. The friendly applause at the end was not so much for the play as for the brilliant mise en scène of the Viennese malaise.

Helmut Kotschenreuther

(Kieler Nachrichten, 7 November 1989)

Herrenstein (Kurt Meisel) getting on everyone's nerves in *Elisabeth II*. (Photo: Anneliese Heuer)

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of these visits. Professor Böttcher said there were advantages and disadvantages for a new course of studies for his students.

There are, for example, few chances of getting a grant for the course and no support can be expected from the 1971 Federal Education Act, known as Bafög, from which students can draw benefits, partly as grants and partly as loans.

This support is not extended to further education[redacted] wealthy parents, like Jutta Schwarz, must get a job.

She laughed and said 'yes' when asked if she thought of herself as a guinea pig.

She likes the idea of the course, its orientation to practical work, the small matey groups, the contacts with the lecturers and the various disciplines studied. She is also pleased with the idea of being one of the first to get the "Magister Europastudien" degree.

There is something pioneering about this. She said that everything was done with flair and this had an effect on the atmosphere of the course.

A basic requirement for the course, naturally, is to be interested in the European idea. Then, this is the ideal course.

Katharina Seiler

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 29 October 1989)



Ulrich Turkur gamestering round as Hamlet with Susanne Schäfer as an uncrushed Ophelia. (Photo: Peter Peitsch)

A triumphant Hamlet except for the bit with the false nose

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Hamburg's theatre fans have had a weight lifted from their shoulders. The general view was that if the première of *Hamlet* was good all would be well with the Deutsches Schauspielhaus.

The actors have done marvellously in Michael Bogdanov's *Hamlet*, his first production as director of the theatre.

The distressing state into which the playhouse had fallen under the management of Peter Zadek is a thing of the past.

Polonius, Ophelia's ambitious, short-sighted father, is no darling of the gods. No member of the audience has shed a tear for this dangerous, fawning courtier as portrayed on stage until now when Hamlet despatches him to the other world.

But this is not the case in the Deutsches Schauspielhaus production. One feels uneasy when the brilliant, dry-as-dust Polonius, played by Hermann Lause, is dragged from the stage.

The strength which Christian Redl as the King shows, slowly manifest, is quite different to that of Polonius who straight away attracts the audience's attention.

It is dazzling how the different conscious levels of these two villains stand out from one another. Polonius, the sly one, is never really in the picture. While the brawny King, with the instincts of a guilty man, suspects rapidly what is going on.

King and Queen (the fragile Ilse Ritter) are in this production a most interesting couple. Hamlet's mother has a *kind of Botticelli* beauty. She has a strong stage presence when she is just on stage, but when she is performing she often seems too theatrical.

Susanne Schäfer as the kind, poor Ophelia is not crushed enough, not sufficiently a kind of narcissistic woman.

And Hamlet? Ulrich Tukur is a triumph in the part. He is a devil of a fellow, an out and out gamester, a city child, an incorruptible darling of the world, a walker on the tight-rope of life, an heroic clown, an combatant full of relish, a beautiful David against the ugly world Goliath.

Ulrich Tukur is all the time totally convincing as Hamlet. But in the mad scene with Ophelia he has to put on a false nose which has the effect of superfluous dressing up. Consequently this scene failed.

The monologues are powerfully delivered, because Tukur, very nervous and tense, delivers them very quietly and untheatrically.

And the director? Michael Bogdanov, Zadek's successor, has achieved a lot; the actors in the minor roles are dazzling. That keeps the five hours of the play together.

But Bogdanov's direction is often full of explosive devices. He lets the soldiers play at war on stage. Soldiers march about. Imaginary helicopters whirl over the heads of the audience.

At the summit of the martial fuss bunker walls, weighing tons, are toppled and pushed over as if to show off what stage technology can do.

William Dudley was responsible for the staging, but his creaking and echoing war and technical effects on stage are irritating theatrical magic.

The programme says: Bogdanov's Hamlet by William Shakespeare. Basically the author's name would have been enough here.

Erika Brenken

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 4 November 1989)

THE ENVIRONMENT

Plans to cut carbon dioxide emissions in effort to hit the Greenhouse Effect

Bonn Environment Minister Klaus Töpfer has told an international meeting in Holland that he favours urgent talks on how best to control carbon dioxide emissions as part of the campaign to fight the phenomenon know as the Greenhouse Effect which is causing the earth's atmospheric temperature to increase. Carbon dioxide is emitted when fossil fuels are burned, for example in coalfired power stations and internal-combustion motors.

An international survey recommends coordinated worldwide measures to limit the output of gases responsible for the greenhouse effect in the Earth's atmosphere.

US and German experts compiled the survey, on Energy Policy in the Greenhouse, for the European Commission and the European Environment Bureau, both in Brussels.

The aim they envisage is to limit the increase in mean temperature to two degrees at most by the year 2100.

Risk assessments have shown that eco-systems "can probably just about manage" a temperature increase of 0.1° C per decade at the present general level of pollution.

If the temperature increase were kept to this level for the next 110 years, we might keep to within the two-degree ceiling (including the cumulative effect of fossil fuel combustion). The result, to paraphrase the survey's subtitle, would be to avert the threat of a climate seize-up and bring about a climate stabilisation.

Münster climate research scientist Professor Wilfrid Bach, a co-author of the report, notes that this limit is considered essential by the German Physics Association, the German Meteorological Association and the Bundestag commission of inquiry into protection of the climate.

Scientists' surmises on the extent to which mean temperatures might increase if nothing was done to reduce the output of greenhouse gases are in some cases much higher than two degrees.

Scientists say any substantial increase in mean temperature would melt the polar icecaps, increase the sea-level and lead to swift and drastic changes in climate zones.

At present, Professor Bach says, temperatures are increasing by 0.1° C per decade.

If the two-degree limit is to be observed, atmospheric carbon dioxide must not increase to more than 400 parts per million.

Carbon dioxide, the most important greenhouse gas, is generated whenever oil, gas, coal and wood are burnt.

It already accounts for about 345 parts per million, so the target must be to limit further increases to five ppm per decade.

That corresponds to a total 300 billion tons of carbon released into the atmosphere as a result of fossil fuel combustion.

In 1985 the world carbon output was 5.2 billion tons. For the next 110 years it must be halved to 2.6 billion tons a year, Professor Bach says.

Countries everywhere are going to have to reduce their CO_2 output considerably, but, as the survey notes, the industrialised countries have arguably exhausted their quota since the industrial revolution.

They, then, ought not to be allowed to release any more CO_2 into the atmosphere, but, as the report goes on to say, that would be politically out of the question.

"A sensible compromise would be for developing and industrialised countries to go halves (on the remaining CO_2 quota)," the experts suggest.

Research scientists at the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory in California and Münster University's Applied Climatology Research Unit have drawn up CO_2 reduction plans suitable for each of the two groups of countries.

The developing countries are envisaged as being allowed to increase their CO_2 output substantially, by 60 per cent, for an initial period until 2005.

They would not be required to curb output to the 1980s level until the year 2030, followed by a further 50-per-cent cut by 2050.

By 2005 the industrialised countries are envisaged as reducing their CO_2 output by 20 per cent, and by 90 per cent by 2050.

By the mid-21st century they would then, between them, manage with a mere quarter of their present aggregate carbon dioxide output.

Climate and energy experts are now working on a second part of the survey in which climate stabilisation measures are to be specified.

They include energy-saving, more rational use of fuels, transport changes and harnessing solar power.

Global reduction strategy needed

Information on which political decisions can be based will then be available, Professor Bach says.

All nations must "work out the CO_2 reduction options that are best for the climate and the environment" and do so as part of "an essential *global reduction* strategy."

An international climate convention planned for 1992 will be a "first test of whether the nations of the world are up to this crucial task," the experts say.

Government ministers and representatives of 67 countries and 10 international organisations have just met in Nordwijk, Holland, to confer on how to fight the greenhouse effect. The increase in atmospheric temperatures was their main concern.

Joachim Wilk

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 November 1989)



Stop skiing and save the alps, urge conservationists

Skiing holidays, a regular feature of school life in Bavaria, have come in for criticism by "spoilsport" conservationists.

Teachers, the conservationists say, are fine at setting up school gardens, at keeping up the CFC debate and at carrying toads across busy roads.

But where traditional school skiing holidays are concerned, Bavarian teachers are said to throw environmental caution to the winds.

They and their pupils do the Alpine environment no less of a disservice than adults. Every year 110,000 Bavarian

Frankfurter Rundschau

schoolchildren spend skiing holidays in the Alps with their 8,000 teachers.

School skiing holidays may be great fun but environmentalists have increasingly come to regard them as a thorn in the flesh.

They plan a serious attempt to prevent further generations of schoolchildren from being brought up to destroy the Alpine environment.

Schoolchildren who are already "addicted" to skiing are joined by 10,000 beginners a year.

Young people are taught thoroughly and from an early age the basics of prestigious but environmentally harmful winter sports, says Hans Jürgen Fahn of the Nature Conservation Association's environmental education unit.

Overcrowding of winter sports resorts and skiing areas has progressively increased, he says.

The higher and more prestigious the school, the more recruits join the school skiing circus.

Ninety-eight per cent of *Gymnasium* (high school) and 80 per cent of *Realschule* students take part in school skiing holidays.

The percentage is much lower at other secondary schools.

Conservationists have now appealed to all concerned to call a halt to the increase in numbers of keen skiers — and to do so for the Alpine environment's sake.

A growing number of parents and teachers are said to feel critical of these school tours.

Conservationists don't want to be "spoilsports," Herr Fahn says. Organised school holidays could be held in both winter and summer, for instance.

Environmentalists face opposition from teachers and pupils who are keen on skiing. Educational policy poses problems too.

The Bavarian Education Ministry may call for a "critical accompaniment" to skiing tours, but a 1980 state assembly ruling still applies.

It provides for government subsidies toward the cost of not one but two winter sports holidays per class per year. "This ruling must be revised," Herr Fahn says.

His association has carried out a review of skiing slopes. Details were pre-

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MEDICINE

Sedatives test brings jibe about valium at soccer grounds

Munich University neurologists have been awarded a government grant to test the effect of tranquillisers on people suffering from serious states of anxiety.

The effect of sedatives in extreme situations is the name of the project for which Hanns Hippius, head of the university's nerve clinic, has been funded by the Federal Civil Defence Department.

Volunteers undergo deliberately induced states of anxiety to see how they might respond to sedatives administered in war or a crisis.

A spokesman for the Federal Interior Ministry confirmed on enquiry that research funds had been granted.

It was, he said, a "strictly scientific experiment." Other information released by the departments concerned has been contradictory on several counts.

When *Wirtschaftwoche*, the Düsseldorf business weekly, first published the news there was little if any response even though it could no longer be denied that experiments were being conducted.

The civil defence department first claimed that it had not commissioned experiments with psychopharmaceuticals, drugs that have an effect on the mental state of the user.

The Interior Ministry then confirmed, however, that a research contract worth about DM280,000 had been awarded.

But there was no link with war. The experiment had been commissioned in connection with panic at, say, sports grounds.

Wilfried Penner, deputy leader of the SPD parliamentary party in Bonn, caustically wondered whether "50 police officers with hawkers' trays could now be expected to dole out valium outside soccer grounds."

This rhetorical query underscored the weak points of this line of argument, especially as psychopharmaceuticals take a while to work.

Besides, the Federal Civil Defence

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Department is not responsible for regional panic situations; large-scale catastrophes that overtax the resources of individual *Länder* are its brief.

It is also, of course, in charge of civil defence, such as building air-raid or fallout shelters in the event of war.

Last not least, the Federal Research Ministry disputed the Interior Ministry's claim that the project had been cleared with it.

Research Ministry officials said they had not even been informed that the project was planned.

Professor Hippius, a psychiatrist, confirmed on enquiry that he has for some time been a member of the Defence Ministry's expert advisory council.

He has been a member of the Interior Ministry's "protection commission" since 1971; he heads a commission subcommittee that deals with "psycho-biological behaviour in stress situations."

Disaster relief medicine and civil defence, he argues, are an important research sector that has been neglected in Germany.

Medical organisations such as IPPNW (International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War) argue in contrast that research of this kind merely upholds the illusion that the medical profession could be of any assistance after a nuclear war.

This argument is echoed by a Munich group of "democratic doctors" who have been strongly critical of testing pills for use in war.

Quoting extracts from the six-page research application made to the civil defence authorities back in 1986, they say it argues that while anxiety is essential to handle alarming situations, "inordinate" anxiety might impede meaningful reactions.

"More detailed knowledge about the biological origins of anxiety would make it easier to cope with alarming situations, such as emergencies," Professor Hippius is said to have written.

Individual reactions would differ and could not be scientifically predicted, but "a knowledge of these individual factors will be of assistance in coping with catastrophes."

In practice the aim must, if need be, be to reduce exaggerated reactions to ones "appropriate to the situation" by administering psychopharmaceuticals.

His work schedule envisages testing on healthy volunteers the extent to which anxiety responses can be influenced by new psychopharmaceuticals.

The individual anxiety responses of an extreme group (of psychiatric patients) to specific alarming situations was also to be tested "and the effect of various new psychopharmaceuticals" probed.

The civil defence importance of this research programme was that the level of stress an individual could withstand might be influenced by "pharmacological or behaviour-changing measures."

The drugs to be tested include "partial benzodiazepin agonists," "5 HT-1 blockers" and "beta-2 blockers."

Benzodiazepins have for some time been used as a sedative and tranquilliser, often heedless of experts' warnings, to relieve states of anxiety or tension.

Agonists are substances that work by homing in on cell membrane receptors.

5 HT is short for 5-hydroxytryptamin, the chemical name of serotonin, an important transmitter of nerve stimuli.

Several different serotonin receptors have for a while been known to exist in the human body. Blocking them could deny surplus morbid body substances access to the receptors.

Serotonin antagonists (they have the opposite effect to agonists) have been used to prevent migraine or to treat Parkinson's disease.

Beta-2 blockers are also administered to cardiac and circulatory patients.

Pharmacologists hope a number of similar substances, marginally varied, may enable them to achieve a wide range of effects.

They might well serve the purpose of anxiolysis, or easing anxiety.

Munich's "democratic" doctors see no reason why drugs should be used to fight anxiety and aggression in the event of war or a nuclear accident, especially drugs that tend to "keep pain at a distance," to have a euphoric effect and, arguably, to counteract the urge to escape.

They are, in particular, disgusted that tests are to be carried out on patients at psychiatric clinics, patients whose consent often cannot be based on a clear understanding of the circumstances.

Informed consent must be obtained

Informed consent is an essential prerequisite for the permissibility of medical tests.

Worse still, human guinea pigs susceptible to anxiety are to have anxiety states induced, by being shown horror films, for instance.

The "democratic" doctors, who make up over a quarter of Munich's medical profession, called on the city's medical council to express disapproval of such experiments. Their motion was rejected after heated debate.

Professor Hippius himself rejected all accusations just before the Bavarian medical congress, held in mid-October.

The medical faculty's ethical commission had approved of his research programme, he said. The films shown to patients to induce a state of anxiety were "less bad than what you can see almost every evening on TV."

In response to a specific query he has since said that inducing anxiety in patients who suffered from anxiety states was legitimate.

Justin Westhoff

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 2 November 1989)

Continued from page 12

sented in Munich to underscore the need to call a halt to the seasonal trek of skiers to the Alps.

The review examines 150 Bavarian slopes, says the association's Dieter Popp. All slopes, it feels, ought to be checked for environment compatibility.

Six per cent of the slopes probed were found to have been fitted out with snow cannons, with this "booster facility" planned at a further six per cent.

Twenty-two per cent are in designated nature [illegible] a further six per cent each in nature and water reserves. Eight per cent adjoin invaluable biotopes.

Half Bavaria's skiing slopes have been specially landscaped to enable tracked vehicles to keep the slopes in trim for winter sports use. These vehicles pack both snow and soil.

That has led to one slope in four being clad in artificial vegetation and natural vegetation only partly covering a further 15 per cent.

Sixty-five per cent of slopes are linked to restaurants and inns of which fewer than half have satisfactory waste disposal and a mere 38 per cent satisfactory sewage facilities.

Only one slope in five is said to have adequate toilet facilities.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 November 1989)

Link between radon and cancer discussed

Between 1,000 and 8,000 West Germans a year die of lung cancer due to having been exposed for too long to radioactive radon.

This figure is a cautious estimate. Radon is a heavy radioactive stable gaseous element formed by disintegration of radium.

Nearly 30 biologists, physicists and medical specialists from Western Europe and the United States discussed the link between radon and cancer at a three-day congress held in Birkenfeld, near Mainz.

The congress, on Low-Dosage Radiation and Health, was held by Birkenfeld district council.

Ellweiler, two and a half miles from the congress venue, is the Federal Republic's only uranium production facility.

It is not in use at present, but radioactive waste is stored on the site, and the villagers of Ellweier, all 280 of them, are worried about the health hazard.

Biophysicist Gert Keller, the author of a report on radon, sounded a reassuring note. "200 metres away from the plant the readings are normal for the area," he said.

But the normal level of radioactivity near Birkenfeld is higher than anywhere else in the Federal Republic.

The national average radon count is 10 becquerels per cubic metre of open air. Keller's equipment registers 50 becquerels in Ellweiler.

Indoors, in 30 per cent of the village's houses, he has measured radon counts well in excess of the permissible ceiling of 250 becquerels per cubic metre.

In specific rooms levels of several thousand becquerels have been registered, due to uranium in the area's natural rock formations, Keller says.

Scientists disagree on the repercussions of radiation exposure. A research group headed by Bremen physicist Inge Schmitz-Feuerhake outlined interim findings of a survey on leukaemia cases near Ellweiler.

In a radius of five kilometres (three miles) the frequency of leukaemia has been found to be two to three times the international average.

Professor Schmitz-Feuerhake and her Bremen research scientists have yet to establish a definite link between radiation and the disease.

Kassel paediatrician Mathias Demuth, who has spent nine years probing leukaemia cases among children living in the vicinity of nuclear installations, goes further.

"There is at least a certain suspicion," he says, "that a connection might exist between the operation of nuclear power stations and the occurrence of leukaemia."

dpa

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 4 November 1989)

Psoriasis is more common

Psoriasis, a chronic skin disease, is twice as common as it was only 10 years ago, with over two million people in the Federal Republic of Germany, population 60 million, suffering from it.

Severe mental and emotional strain and environmental problems led to an increase in the number of cases of what, latently, was a hereditary complaint, said the German Psoriasis Association's Antje Wolters in Bonn.

Health policymakers had yet to appreciate that psoriasis was a complaint as widespread as diabetes. It was high time the Federal government bridged this "information gap" and coordinated psoriasis research.

Psoriasis, a skin disease in which red scaly papules and patches appear, is incurable. Doctors can do no more than prescribe drugs to alleviate its repercussions.

Psoriasis patients often felt they were shunned like lepers by people around them even though, as Frau Wolters pointed out, their complaint was not contagious.

dpa

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 30 October 1989)

CRIME

Special unit puts wind up vanishing gangsters



The Bundeskriminalamt, the equivalent to the FBI, has assembled a team of special investigators to hunt criminals in cases where the usual investigation methods have failed. The team's investigations have taken it to some of the farthest-flung parts of the world.

The team is called "Zielfahndung," (special-purpose unit). Chief of the team is a senior inspector, Hans Schmid, 47. He says the unit has even managed to catch their quarry in the Himalayas. He is not exaggerating: twice they have struck in the Himalayas, bringing back a cocaine dealer who had been wanted for a long time and a murderer.

The unit began five years ago in a trial using four officers. Today, successes have been chalked up in places such as Nepal, Australia, Aschaffenburg, Ibiza (the Spanish island in the Mediterranean), Sylt (a German island in the North Sea), Luxembourg, Belgium, USA, Holland, Düsseldorf, Peru and France. It has now completed 21 operations and has had 20 arrests. It used to be the case that ace criminals were able to escape apprehension for years on end when investigated by normal means. Schmid: "Hopeless cases that have been beyond traditional investgation methods land on our table."

The Bundeskriminalamt has not talked about its secret weapon until now. It wanted it first to prove its efficiency. That it is now talking about it is also based on solid ground, The investigators should be allowed to bathe in the limelight that success has brought the unit with the aim of encouraging them to even greater efforts.

The aim now is to make criminals who have flown nervous in the hope that they will make mistakes. And it is also hoped that public belief in the forces of law and order will be strengthened. The saying that the little man is hanged while the big offender runs away is anathema to the unit.

Hans-Dieter Theis, a 40 year old, was for many years the uncrowned king of the underworld in Frankfurt and Göttingen. He had a reputation for hardness and was known as "The Bomber." He controlled a band of pimps which operated across Europe. The funds from this were used in other criminal activities. He moved into cocaine dealing on a large scale, burglary to order, protection rackets, deception involving millions of marks. In France, the gang broke into office letter boxes and stole money and checks from mail; it rerouted money transfers into its own accounts.

When eventually, the Frankfurt special commission for organised crime and senior prosecutor Adelheid Werner considered they had enough evidence for an arrest warrant, the Bomber had vanished. The search began.

That is the sort of thing that happens with about 4,500 people a year. The better calibre criminals who have enough money and false papers and helpers are seldom caught at international borders. Often, routine investigations by Interpol don't achieve results and, in some countries, the police need to be bribed to act. In such cases, the German police has to carry out its own investigation and, after it has discovered the whereabouts of their quarry, alert the local police. But lack of money and manpower make this way of operating difficult.

In August, the Public prosecutor in Frankfurt handed over the case of The Bomber Theis to the Zielfahndung, the special unit. Then began the usual procedure. Who had he been friendly with in the sandpit as a child? Who were his schoolfriends? Who had he known through membership of clubs or his local pub? Acquaintances, girlfriends, enemies, vices, lovers. What sort of handwriting? Missing teeth? Other distinguishing features?

Schmid says: "In the end, we know the quarry better than he knows himself." Then the character that has been developed is put through its psychological paces in which wide-ranging qualities are tested, even how he is likely to react under stress. Photographs are produced showing how facinl changes might be made through use of spectacles, beard or hairpiece.

Over days on end, Zielfahndung investigators shadowed known associates of the Bomber and watched the telephone and post for leads. One day last month, some conspicuously heavily made-up women sat in a beer tent in Munich. They were accompanied by escorts wearing fancy rings on their little fingers and ostentatious Rolex watches. It was Oktoberfest. Here to celebrate were friends of the Bomber. At the table next to them, Zielfahndung investigators sipped from their beer krugs and pricked up their ears.

A few days before, one of the Bomber's group had bought a motoring map of Italy. The investigators knew that Theis had a fluent knowledge of Italian, that he knew plenty of people there. The probability was, therefore, that he was in Italy and that the buyer of the map would want to contact him.

Some of the party left the Oktoberfest and went to the airport where they checked in for a flight to Milan. One investigator raced to buy tickets while the other telephoned Schmid to keep him on the ball. The Bundeskriminalamt always has an Italian police representative on hand. That meant that, within minutes, the two policemen at the airport had received permission to travel to Italy. The Milan police were alerted. Schmid: "If it hadn't all gone so quickly, we would have delayed the takeoff." Milan. It is 2 pm. A mufti car is ready to tail the friends of the Bomber. The Zielfahnder follow their Italian colleagues and, when they see the Bomber, give the signal. Quickly, the handcuffs are snapped on. The German policemen invite their Italian colleagues to dinner. And on the telephone, Chief Schmid tells the Milan chief of police: "Molto grazie. And we're ready to give you the same assistance whenever you need it."

Horst Zimmermann

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 3 November 1989)



No blame for victim. Special rape-case prosecutor (facing camera) and complainant. (Photo: Ralph Rieth)

Rape victims receive a more sympathetic response

Last Sunday's episode of *Tatort* has kindled again discussion about the crime of rape. (Tatort, which means "scene of the crime", is the name of a popular television cops-and-robbers series. Each episode is separate.)

How many cases there are a year in Germany is difficult to say. There are about 20,000 charges laid but the Bundeskriminalamt (BKA), the equivalent to the FBI or CID, says that total offences could be as high as 200,000 — on the basis that 10 times as many are committed as reported.

The main reason for non-reporting is, according to a study by the BKA, fear by the victims for what American sociologists describe as "the art of blaming the victim." Victims doubt the capacity of public prosecutors to make judgments because "they are in any case only pen pushers" and didn't even take the trouble to talk to the victim personally.

That is not entirely a false picture, because the representative of the state meets the victim personally for the first time only at the main hearing.

In Berlin, the public prosecutor's office has taken action to remedy this by setting up a special department for victims of all ages. Here, public prosecutors Marita Kordass, 49, and Regina Splett, 37, meet victims and remain with them until the first hearing. Frau Splett: "Unfortunately, we do not have enough staff to represent the cases in subsequent hearings." She said it was a predicament.

There certainly *is no shortage* of work. In the year after the department was set up in July 1988, 700 cases were dealt with, more than double the 321 cases in 1987. Frau Splett said this showed how necessary the department was.

In January this year, two more prosecutors were assigned, Carmen Klee and Heinz-Jürgen Schmidt. Both are specialists in the area of sexual abuse of children and girls. Injuries to some victims is so bad that Frau Splett did not want to describe them.

She hoped that the department would encourage women to come forward instead of *holding* back: "If victims do not lay complaints because of misplaced feelings of shame, they leave the offender free to rub his hands together in glee. I hope our work will lead to an increase in convictions."

The accusation that a specialised prosecutor could identify so much with victims that anything to be in a position to unearth anything to the advantage of offenders is rejected by Frau Splett. Investigations, especially against men who commit a series of offences would only be made much more difficult if they were *conducted* through different people.

The usual practice until now had been to allocate public prosecutors from all fields. The decisive factor in this allocation was only the initial of the accused's family name. The result was a scanty exchange of information between the police and the "alphabet prosecutors". Hans Jürgen Meinert, who is the detective in charge of rape cases in Berlin says that cooperation with the new department is ideal.

"Now we have a set person to talk to. You get to know personally the person dealing with the cases and you don't need to make dozens of phone calls any more." This direct contact shortened the entire process of investigation. Twelve staff are on the Berlin Kommissariat M III,4. Victims can now choose to be questioned by a man or a woman.

From 1984 to 1987, the number of rape complaints in Berlin declined by 20 per cent. Meinert says an explanation could be fear of Aids. But offenders are certainly capable of learning: the latest trend among rapists is to use condoms.

C. von Korff

(Die Welt, Bonn, 1 November 1989)

FRONTIERS

A rebel Catholic theologian denies heresy accusations

Catholic church leaders are trying to find ways of silencing a theologian whose opinions are causing huge rows. Eugen Drewerman accuses the church of driving people "almost to the point of insanity" and says that priests would be better having Brigitte Bardot as an ideal instead of Mary. Gernot Facius reports for *Die Welt*.

The date was more by accident than choice, but the symbolism of the event cannot be ignored.

On the 472nd anniversary of Martin Luther's reformation Catholic theologian, best-selling author and psychotherapist Eugen Drewermann has twice publicly denied charges of being a heretic and denying religious truth.

In his home town of Paderborn Drewermann supporters handed to Archbishop Johannes Joachim Degenhardt a petition signed by 14,398 for "fair proceedings" against the Galileo of eastern Westphalia.

In Bonn, under the eyes of uninvited observers of the German Bishops Conference, the priest who saw his Church as an institution for "compulsion, repression, depersonalisation and causing emotional upset," ran into trouble.

He spoke angrily to journalists against the guardians of belief, who in his view had condemned him and laid to his account a "mountain of failures."

He said: "It is a question of power and not an examination of the contents of my work."

Drewermann, an outside lecturer for systematic theology at the Theological Faculty at Paderborn, has written 28 books. In them he expounds the view that Christian belief is primarily the teaching of redemption and counselling.

He strives to get away from a system of rigid standards. He said that theology could only be accepted as a science "when it gives up the inexperienced, existentially indifferent talk about the secrets of God, and instead of that makes psycholanalysis the path of knowledge to its central discipline of moral theology, exegesis and dogmatism." In his latest book, 900 pages in length and entitled *Kleriker*, he has put down his psychotherapeutic experiences with priests and people in orders. His findings are not flattering for the Church.

The "psychogramme" deals with people who "are deformed by anxiety and compulsions," and who therefore flee into the arms of an idolised, super-ego Church.

In the court Drewermann was tough on the sexual morality of obligatory celibacy, which produced only "ambiguities."

He suggested that of the 18,000 priests in the Federal Republic, 6,000 of them lived with a woman. "As a result they have become not poorer, but better, more human, more mature priests."

Not for nothing has he included at the beginning of his book the Buddhist saying: "Only he who develops himself achieves the good."

But Drewermann, "the heretic from Paderborn," regards just this possibility for development as a hindrance, "through a system of a continuous feeling of guilt." The Church causes people to become sick "to the point of losing their sanity."

The Church prefers the sick priest rather than one who has struggled for liberty for himself, because of the Church's powers, Drewermann said.

The reproduction of the "clerical bureaucracy" is a central requirement for depersonification of the candidate for the priesthood, "making domination much easier."

He continued: "What should a priest do who, at 60, has to recognise that, with all his propagation of freedom and mission, he has remained fundamentally his mother's boy, burdened with an Oedipus complex, who, so as not ever to become guilty, has perhaps burdened himself with the greatest guilt of never having himself truly loved."

But for Drewermann the question of celibacy is not the crucial point, but only a part "of the whole matter of power."

What is decisive is that the Church should allow people to trust their own dreams. He said: "I wished that the Church would stop condemning to burning at the stake people who followed their conscience."

"His" Archbishop Degenhardt is to decide on Drewermann's future as a university lecturer. The Archbishop insisted repeatedly that the pastoral and psychotherapeutic efforts of the rebellious priest were in no way the objects of spiritual care. The Archbishop said that it was a matter of questioning the contents of belief. "I always hope that Dr Drewermann will not shut himself off from the agreed belief of the whole Church."

According to the accusations of the guardians of belief Drewermann denies the historical truth of revelation such as Jesus being the Son of God, and doubts mankind's need for redemption.

Drewermann counters: "They have not read my books. Otherwise they would know that I believe that, that only the figure of Jesus Christ allows us to live humane lives and treat with one another in a humane manner, even in 'His' Church. The person of Jesus Christ is absolutely central for me."

Unlike the proceedings against the Tübingen theologian Hans Küng, whose case dragged on for ten years, Drewermann's case should be put through the "administrative process" within the next 14 days.

But he is surprised at the schizophrenic attitude which has become obvious from the official proceedings in Paderborn. He said: "If I don't teach Catholic belief how can I live as a Catholic?"

Despite all church administative sanctions Drewermann will not give in. He remains with his views. He said: "I must try to attack the whole system, because I want to protect people."

Gernot Facius

(Die Welt, Bonn, 4 November 1989)

I will not give in, says theologian Drewermann. (Photo: dpa)

Lots believe in God, but few go to church

Although there has been a decline in interest in church services and a drop in membership in both churchs, Catholic and Protestant, well over 70 per cent of people in Germany believe in God.

Only 13 per cent regard themselves as atheists, according to a survey, commissioned from the Allensbach Opinion Research Institute by the popular science magazine *P.M.*

The survey revealed that only five per cent of Protestants and 25 per cent of Catholics attend church services or mass. Over 80 per cent of the population belong to one or the other of the main Christian churches: 84 per cent of the Catholics polled and 72 per cent of the Protestants believe in God.

Most Germans believe not only in God but also in Jesus Christ, "the Son of God and the Redeemer." The survey showed that 73 per cent of Protestants and 81 per cent of Catholics believe that "Jesus was crucified, died and was buried."

The degree of agreement is considerably more limited about individual statements of the creed. Only every fourth Protestant and every second Catholic believe in the crucial point of Christian belief, the resurrection from death and the life everlasting.

The survey, made pubic in Hamburg, showed that 32 per cent of the Protestants believe in the Holy Ghost and 50 per cent of Catholics. 46 per cent of the Catholics and 37 per cent of the Protestants believed in the Ascension of Christ.

At the same time people surveyed showed a marked propensity for distancing themselves from Church and belief. Yet the social image of religious people is considernbly higher than that of convinced atheists.

"The religious person is regarded as reliable, interested in other people, involved in justice, tolerant and happy."

People regard atheists as being open-minded, tolerant and progressive as well as indifferent, materialistic and self-righteous.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 November 1989)

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more than 1,000 cooperation programmes. The increasing number of applications for Erasmus grants is putting officials gradually in a quandary: in the future more applications will be rejected since the budget cannot be increased much.

That is why the highest grant that can be offered in the programme of 5,000 ecus "will inevitably be corrected downwards," according to staff. Erasmus students are already grumbling that they are not getting enough support.

After his stay in Parma Franz Mitterrutzner said: "Anyone who gets an Erasmus grant and already has Bafög support, has his Bafög grant cut at a flat rate of DM100 a month." In the middle of this year a survey of former Erasmus students showed that participants who went to France or Italy had to spend up to two-thirds of their grant on accommodation. Others complained that they had not been adequately prepared in the language of the host country.

Thomas Veser

(Mannheimer Morgen, 2 November 1989)

The messenger who bears tidings of death

Petra Agurks, 29, is one of a group of nine men and woman in Hanover who are professional bearers of bad tidings.

The Police Preventive Programme/Social Work (known as PPS) has been set up to deal with people in need and in desperate situations. Death is one of these situations.

If you met Frau Agurks out shopping you would never think she did what she does. In her year with the unit, she has been called out 19 times to tell people of a relative's death.

Ulrich Driller heads the PPS and the social workers under him, like Frau Agurks, are all professionals trained to deal with people. But that doesn't mean this special task has lost any of its wretchedness for them.

"When I have to go out I feel full of trepidation," Frau Agurks says. What will happen? How will the people react? What do you say to someone you do not know who opens the door and smiles?

Anything is possible after a death. In a country where much is said about living and little about dying, people react blindly when confronted with death.

Ulrich Driller says: "Their emotions go on a roller coaster trip." Some begin to scream and hit out wildly about them, while another person goes all apathetic at the news and lies on the ground for hours on end, without moving, while the pain tears the person apart.

Frau Agurks says: "Sometimes they want you to talk to them and hold their hand, and sometimes it is better to say nothing and hold the person for hours on end in your arms."

Driller said: "Having to announce a death is the most difficult job we have to do." Four weeks beforehand he had had to tell a woman in Hanover that her husband had driven his car against a tree near Bremen and had been killed.

"She could not grasp what had happened. She had said goodbye to him quite normally that morning and the two planned to go out for a meal together in the evening. It was quite a noraml day. She was very fond of her husband," Ulrich Driller said.

The PPS is valued by the police. It saves them from having to do the job. It means especially that young policemen are not thrust into situations they are not mature enough to handle.

For the members of the PPS team the task is a job for which there is no routine approach. That is why it is always important to gain distance. They have to maintain a distance from the bereavement. And it is only for a short time, because the experience will recur again and again.

When Frau Agurks comes back from a case and her colleagues have already gone home, she calls up friends so as to talk to them. She said that she did so no matter what time it was, "even the middle of the night."

Driller spoke for all his team when he said: "I would prefer that I did not have to do it." No matter how you put it the news of a death is always nasty.

Gerd Piper

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 November 1989)